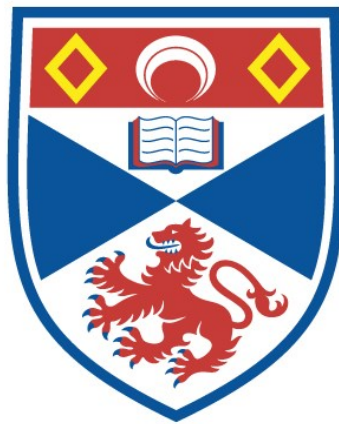


**RHETORIC AND THE ART OF THE FRENCH TRAGIC
ACTOR (1620-1750) : THE PLACE OF
'PRONUNTIATIO' IN THE STAGE TRADITION**

Allison Grear

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1982

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DECLARATION

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Having served as supervisor to Miss Allison Gear for the period of her graduate studies, I write to record that her thesis on the art of the tragic actress France has been entirely her own work.



PREFACE

In October 1972, I matriculated at the University of St Andrews and read for a degree in French Language and Literature in the United College of St Salvator and St Leonard, graduating in July 1976 with the Degree of Master of Arts with Honours of the First Class. As from October 1976 I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy under Resolution of the University Court, 1967, number 1. Throughout the period of my research I was supervised by Professor S.S.B. Taylor of the Department of French, University of St Andrews.

ABSTRACT

In seventeenth-century France a new type of theatre was established to correspond to the ideals and taste of the dominant social group. As part of the process a particular ideal was forged for the new-style actor. Moulded by classical writings on acting and actors which suggested that the style of serious, cultured acting operated within the same aesthetic as that of oratorical delivery, this ideal similarly identified refined acting with principles of *pronuntiatio* and the *bienséance* acceptable in contemporary formal discourse. As a result of this identification no separate art of acting was considered necessary in seventeenth-century France, the rules and principles of expression of emotion in oratorical delivery being accepted as valid for serious acting. It is to these rules and principles therefore that recourse must be made if the style of seventeenth-century acting and the approach of the actor at this period are to be appreciated. Study of seventeenth-century French treatises on oratorical delivery indicates the extent to which expression of emotion was considered to require study and practise of basic principles which would enable the speaker to evoke a particular passion by appropriately moving tones and accompanying gesture, and yet at the same time remain within a socially-acceptable range. Interpretation of seventeenth-century writings on actors and acting in light of these principles highlights

the declamatory nature of serious acting of this period. The actor was understood to approach his rôle with a view to representing and thus exciting passions through effective vocal variation and suitably decorous accompanying gesture (body-language). Attention was focused upon the actor's voice, upon his moving tones and cadences, and upon the grace with which he used his body to reinforce such emotional portrayal.

During the eighteenth century this conception of acting and the style it had produced were called into question. Acting began to evolve its own aesthetic, an aesthetic based upon impersonation of character through personal identification and experience of the effects of emotion in real life. Study of rules to regulate emotional expression and imitation of the best models were abandoned in favour of cultivation of artistic sensibility: recourse to the imagination and personal sensitivity. In the process emphasis shifted from the voice to non-linguistic ways of showing feeling on the stage, and gestural expression released itself from subjection to social *bienséance* and enriched its range and potential. Evidence of these trends as well as fidelity to or reaction against principles of *pronuntiatio* may be traced in writings on acting and delivery of the first half of the eighteenth century. At the beginning

of the century acting theory was still rooted in and patterned on the model of *pronuntiatio*. By 1750 it had established its worth as an independent art with principles more directly based upon the dramatic experience.

Throughout this thesis quotations have been given as they appear in the editions consulted. Spelling and punctuation have not been modernized save that old type-forms have been interpreted according to modern usage and obvious typographical errors have been corrected.

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INTRODUCTION

Over the past twenty-five years the study of rhetoric and its literary history has become a major area of critical activity, and particular attention has been paid to the important rôle played by rhetoric in the period generally referred to as that of French Classicism¹. The studies of Peter France, A.Kibédi-Varga, G.Snyders and M.Fumaroli² have charted the development and consequences of rhetoric's formative influence on seventeenth-century French culture sufficiently fully for it no longer to be necessary to justify or support examination of French Classical literature on rhetorical lines. As A.D.Sellstrom wrote over twenty years ago, there is general agreement amongst scholars that, "throughout the seventeenth century French poetry was profoundly influenced, in substance as well as form, by principles borrowed from the theory of rhetoric"³. The realization that rhetoric, the art of speaking well, covered delivery as well as composition, in the form of a fifth part labelled *pronuntiatio*, inevitably raised the question of the extent to which acting of rhetorically-composed texts may have been directed and determined by the aesthetics of *pronuntiatio*. One of the first critics to suggest that oratorical delivery and Classical acting were seen as branches of the same art was Peter France. Study of seventeenth-century French works on rhetoric as part of his research into Racine's applic-

action of rhetoric made it clear to France that an astonishingly close relationship between the aesthetics of oratory and acting existed at this period. Summarizing his findings France explained, "the comparison most commonly made by writers on both rhetoric and the theatre is that between the orator and the actor. Rhetoricians agree that the orator can learn a great deal from the actor (as Cicero was supposed to have done) in the way of techniques of declamation, gesture, simulation of passions and so on. On the other hand the actor can copy the orator"⁴. Two years after the publication of these findings K.G. Holmström was independently to come to a similar conclusion, arrived at through knowledge of French theatre history rather than writings on rhetoric. In the introduction to her study *Monodrama, attitudes, tableaux vivants* (Stockholm, 1967), Professor Holmström drew particular attention to the historical circumstances which favoured identification of actor and orator in seventeenth-century France. As she saw it part of the process of raising the status of the French theatre involved deliberate identification of the new-style *comédien* with the body of rules for good delivery which had already existed in the form of *pronuntiatio* or, as it was sometimes labelled, *actio*. "After the revival of the French theatre during the 1640s", Professor Holmström explained, "the rules of classical rhetoric for *actio* were the ideal which was set up for the tragic actor", this ideal remaining dominant for

over half a century so that "at the beginning of the eighteenth century, acting was still regarded as a department of rhetoric"⁵. In the works of France and Holmström therefore the relationship between acting and theories of oratorical delivery in seventeenth-century France is seen from two points of view. On the one hand acting is linked to principles of *pronuntiatio* by virtue of the fact that styles of acting and public-speaking closely resembled each other, a resemblance which was in part promoted by a similar identification in classical sources. On the other the acting/rhetoric parallel is recognized as a deliberate and to some extent artificial aspect of the reforming movement which resulted in the establishment of the French Classical theatre. Both arguments are relevant and may be supported by evidence in writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However neither explains the root-cause favouring particular emphasis on acting as a branch of rhetoric at this period. To understand why it was that the ideal prescribed for the *comédien*⁶ borrowed so directly from the rhetorical ideal it is essential to appreciate that rhetoric was overtly identified by seventeenth-century French society with a certain pattern of expression and behaviour appropriate to the élite. This identification is of course implicit in classical theory, rhetoric being an art of formal speaking whose style was regulated by

the manners and conventions pertaining to the dominant social group. It was in this sense that rhetoric was taken over by the Renaissance and expanded from being the art of preacher, lawyer, ambassador to become the idiom of the élite. During the sixteenth century a new culture developed in which the code of behaviour and spoken or written expression was based upon classical rhetorical theory and models. A feature of this development was the performance in courtly and aristocratic circles of plays modelled directly on classical drama and applying principles of rhetorical expression⁷. For imitation of classical drama and observance of rhetorical theory at this period and in the seventeenth century were mutually-dependent elements. What distinguishes seventeenth-century Classicism and the application of rhetoric from that of the sixteenth is that this idiom became dominant and exercised an influence on literature and the arts greater than had ever been the case.

However such influence was not restricted to the arts, classical rhetoric also inspired social behaviour and etiquette. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, as M. Magendie's study of *La Politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au dix-septième siècle* (Paris, 1925) has shown, there was a deliberate attempt

to refine the behaviour and language of court and courtly society in France along the lines suggested in Italian treatises such as that of Castiglione. The crucial point here is that these Italian prototypes had adopted the classical concept of the ideal orator, urbane and dignified, as a model for their conception of the courtier. Inevitably then the French translations and adaptations of these manuals which penetrated French culture during the seventeenth century also extended the code of decorum described by Cicero and Quintilian to that of polite society in general. At the same time changes were occurring within French society which favoured the development of a new social type, the *honnête homme* whose position and activity were less restrictive than those relating to the concept of the courtier. As D.Stone has explained with reference to N.Faret's *L'Honneste homme ou l'art de plaire à la cour* (1630), "we discover rhetoric being metamorphosed into a handbook for polite social conversation. The courtier must make himself pleasing to the ladies, writes Faret..."car la premiere chose qu'elles considerent en un homme, c'est la mine et l'action exterieure, que Ciceron nomme l'Eloquence du Corps. Il ne la divise qu'en deux parties, le geste, et la voix" (p.228). Cicero is not misquoted, but he has been interestingly misrepresented.

The lawyer's poise and enunciation are transformed into a courtier's rule for social conquest"⁸. The attempt to raise the status of the actor during the 1630s and 1640s to that of *honnête homme* automatically involved identification of actor and orator. The new type of actor ideally would be educated, cultured, acceptable in polite society by virtue of his conforming to the paradigm held by the social group for which he catered. To be pleasing aesthetically (in his acting) it was essential that in his person he possess those social qualities which went under the rubric of decorum or *bienséance*, and which implicitly related back to the rhetorical idiom. Art within this conception was dependent upon deference to standards and conventions of the social élite and as a result the artist may be only he who similarly defers to these standards. Given this situation it was possible to distinguish between two types of actor, the actor/artist who practised the rhetorical idiom and the actor/popular entertainer who drew upon native tradition and expression. Such a distinction moreover could be given support from classical authority. For, as M.Fumaroli has indicated⁹, in the rhetorical theory of Cicero and Quintilian a distinction was made between two types of actor, the serious performer whose style fitted him to serve as

a model for the orator, and the entertainer catering for a more socially-mixed audience who acted without a literary script and in a more eclectic style.

Representative of the first type, the *actor* that is "l'acteur de théâtre initié à la haute discipline rhétorique, et qui peut servir de modèle d'*actio oratoria* au grand avocat"¹⁰, were Roscius and Aesopus. Into the second category fell the *mimus*, *pantomimus* and *ludus* whose matter and style transgressed the ethos of orator and oratory. The logical extension of this antithesis to the French theatre of the 1630s and 1640s is unsurprising and as Fumaroli points out, actors and their apologists were to seek to justify their position as artists by direct reference to the rhetorical idiom: "c'est exactement dans le même esprit que les Comédiens de l'Art du dix-septième siècle ont écrit leurs apologies: ce qui les distingue à leurs propres yeux des bateleurs et histrions populaires, ce qui les rend dignes de l'estime des Cours et des Académies, c'est leur parfaite maîtrise de l'*actio* oratoire et de ses différents niveaux stylistiques, c'est leur capacité d'interpréter dignement la tragédie aussi bien que la comédie"¹¹.

Given this established relationship between the French Classical actor and rhetorical theory it is apparent

that study of the principles of *pronuntiatio* offers a unique source of information on the aesthetic of seventeenth-century acting. Two approaches to an analysis of the relationship between *pronuntiatio* and acting suggest themselves. On the one hand principles of *pronuntiatio* may be studied, traced in the first theories of acting and delivery, and suggestions be made as to how such principles might have been applied to dramatic performance. On the other writings describing actors and acting may be reinterpreted in light of *pronuntiatio* to yield evidence of style of performance. Both approaches have been adopted in the following study, largely as a natural consequence of the material itself. For various reasons amongst which may be mentioned growth of interest in acting and a wider reading-public, theories of acting and writings by actors on delivery were to appear in the early eighteenth century. Before this period no theoretical studies of acting, or works by actors on oratorical delivery exist, or at any rate have survived¹². It is therefore impossible to compare the wealth of seventeenth-century writings on oratorical delivery with acting theory of the same period. The nearest which can be come to such a comparison is to adopt the second approach and study the extent to which writings on acting and actors of the seventeenth-century

would seem to accept and apply the rhetorical parallel to acting. The comparison may then be enriched by tracing in eighteenth-century theories elements of the principles of *pronuntiatio*, and indicating a continuing correspondence between the aesthetics of acting and oratorical delivery, despite new distinctions which were to separate the two branches. The following study of *pronuntiatio* and its relationship to French tragic acting proceeds therefore in three stages. Firstly the rhetorical ideal and principles of *pronuntiatio* are examined in French writings of the period 1620-1730. The aim of this section is to isolate the standard rules governing oratorical delivery in seventeenth-century France and to displace certain misconceptions concerning the extent to which *pronuntiatio* at this period was a "code" of tones and gestures¹³. However, as P. France has emphasized, "it would be a mistake...to imagine rhetoric as a fixed discipline. Although it was rooted in tradition, it changed with the times"¹⁴. Between 1620 and 1730 the treatment of *pronuntiatio* evolved considerably and this evolution is as important in understanding seventeenth-century attitudes to delivery as the corpus of principles and rules. Two major tendencies are distinguishable in works on oratorical delivery between 1620 and 1730, tendencies which are entirely consistent with corresponding developments in other areas of artistic expression at

the same period. Between 1620 and 1660 revived interest in *pronuntiatio* stimulated a number of writings which sought to revive and update classical advice on the subject into a systematic art appropriate to French culture. Of these works Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur* (1657) was the most developed and influential, inspiring later works on the subject such as Bretteville's section on delivery in his *Eloquence de la chaire et du barreau* (1689). Between 1620 and 1690 therefore what may be termed the Classical approach to delivery characterised by a highly-systematised body of rules and principles, belief in study and practice as a means of perfecting Nature and particular interest in and emphasis on expression of emotion, developed and established itself. From the 1680s however an undercurrent of reaction to this approach is perceptible, as part of a more general attack upon the artifice of rhetoric. Art, and in particular art based upon deliberate, willed sensual appeal was to be decried in favour of a more direct, sincere, spontaneous form of expression. The controversy reached its climax in 1694 with the publication of an edition of St. Augustin's sermons by the Jansenist Goibaud-Dubois. In his *Avertissement*, Dubois attacked the basis of rhetoric itself by challenging the concept of eloquence based upon a formal art. For Goibaud-Dubois true eloquence was a question of personal

integrity and sincerity, not a skill which could be acquired by study and practice of rules and principles:

la vraie Eloquence est celle qui se trouve necessairement dans tout homme de bon Esprit, qui sçait bien parler; et qui est bien plein et bien penetré de sa matiere. Ceux en qui ces deux choses se rencontrent, sont infailliblement éloquens; et ils le sont comme il le faut être, c'est-à-dire, sans penser à l'être, et par la seule direction de leur disposition intérieure, qui les conduit d'elle-même...il est donc clair, que pour remplir tous les devoirs de l'Eloquence, il ne faut qu'une intelligence éclairée et un coeur touché¹⁵.

Throughout the ensuing debate of which the major protagonists were F.Lamy, A.Arnauld and B.Gisbert, the validity of artistic principles instructing in the embellishment and emotional-charging of pulpit eloquence was repeatedly challenged and thus by extension was the Classical approach to *pronuntiatio* also brought into question. By the early years of the eighteenth century however a position of compromise had been reached. It was generally agreed that some form of embellishment and a certain degree of emotional appeal were essential in Christian teaching. However, as a result of the controversy, theorists were turning away from the concept that such ornament could be rationally and objectively applied and were moving towards a position in which the personal sensitivity and inspiration of the speaker were to be dominant. The approach to *pronuntiatio* from the final years of the seventeenth century through into the eighteenth century

reflects this change of attitude in a reduction of dogmatic, prescriptive advice and a proportionally greater emphasis upon the speaker's personal identification with his subject and in particular with the feelings of his speech. The first chapter of this thesis attempts therefore to establish the rules and changing aesthetic of the French art of delivery during the period 1620-1730, a chronological method having been adopted for this presentation.

Familiarity with the tendencies and principles of *pronuntiatio* over this period provides the essential material against which the seventeenth-century acting ideal may be measured and reinterpreted. It is the aim of chapter two to examine seventeenth-century writings concerned with tragic actors and acting and to suggest to what extent these betray an attitude in which the actor is seen as a practitioner of *pronuntiatio*. Comic acting has been excluded from this study because, although in the early period of French Classicism it would appear to have conformed to the socio-rhetorical paradigm to some extent, it never entirely divorced itself from popular farce traditions and, in the hands of Molière a style of acting drawing upon both traditions as well as that of the Italian comics was to establish itself.

Moreover, by virtue of the fact that tragedy was by definition the noble genre, involving identification of tragic character with those of the highest contemporary social rank and concerned with expression of emotion in its most eloquent form, it came closest to the oratorical ideal on the level both of text and speaker and thus provides the most constant level of comparison. However it should be pointed out that many of the writings examined in chapter two fail to distinguish between comic and tragic actor when presenting their ideal in general terms. It is this ideal which, by the nature of the language used to express it, makes it possible to confirm Professor Holmström's contention that the concept of *comédien* involved identification with the orator and his art of delivery. Having established this correlation, writings on acting may be examined from the rhetorical perspective and suggestions be made as to how the rhetorical idiom could have conditioned a certain approach to acting on the level of character, portrayal of feeling and management of voice and gesture.

By the early eighteenth century aesthetics was developing as a theory distinct from that of rhetoric, and in all areas of artistic activity a certain release from the social and moral imperatives of the rhetorical aesthetic is apparent. Acting, in common with the other arts, followed

the aesthetic of the day as may be seen from study of the first French theories of acting which appear during the eighteenth century. Knowledge of the principles of delivery which pertained during the rhetorical aesthetic of the seventeenth century, makes it possible to assess the extent to which acting theory was releasing itself from principles of *pronuntiatio* at this period. At the beginning of the century Grimarest and Poisson still presented acting and oratorical delivery as branches of an art derived from classical *pronuntiatio* and with certain fundamental principles. However new emphases were beginning to develop: tonal variation was required to be more nuanced to correspond to the variety of individual human emotion; the speaker would best render such nuances therefore if, instead of imitating and following generalized rules he were to seek within his own sensitivity the source of appropriate expression. For the actor this further directed attention away from the text as expression of passion, to identification with character and creation of an illusion closer to personal experience. In Louis Riccoboni's writings on acting and delivery (1728 & 1738), we have one of the most clear expressions of the new aesthetic, an aesthetic which was to echo with those terms used by Riccoboni: *enthousiasme, âme, sentiments, dons, simplicité, naturel, vérité, imagination*. Sympathetic identification and a certain artistic sensitivity were

thus to replace knowledge of basic principles, study and imitation of standard models and a socially-determined concept of propriety of expression.

By 1750 the rhetorical model had been largely replaced by an aesthetic more directly based upon the nature and problems of acting. In François Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre* (1750) vestiges of rhetorical principles are still in evidence, indicating the extent to which acting had once conformed to these principles. However they have been relaxed and remoulded into a separate aesthetic which placed greater importance on characterization and the expressive potential of gesture, and which, having stifled the moral and social imperative of the rhetorical aesthetic, opened the way to a wider range of emotional expression. The road to Romanticism had been laid, the *comédien/honnête homme* becomes the inspired, sensitive genius whose powerful imagination allows him to create empathetically, to transcend rational thought processes and to project himself into an imaginary fictitious world in which he may play his part with a degree of sincerity equivalent to that of real personal experience.

By tracing the evolution of the approach to acting and delivery between 1620 and 1750 it is hoped that the following study will contribute significantly to understanding

of theatre, theatrical experience and audience expectations in the period of French Classicism and the early eighteenth century.

FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

- 1 *Classicism* with a capital will be used throughout this thesis to designate works and attitudes of French Classicism in the seventeenth century; *classical* with a small c will be applied to refer to works and attitudes of antiquity.

- 2 See P.France, *Racine's rhetoric* (Oxford, 1965), *Rhetoric and Truth in France* (Oxford, 1972). F. de Dainville, *L'Education des Jésuites* (Paris, 1978). A.Kibédi-Varga, *Rhétorique et littérature* (Paris, 1970). G.Snyders, *La Pédagogie en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1965). M.Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'éloquence* (Genève, 1980).

- 3 A.D.Sellstrom, "Rhetoric and the poetics of French Classicism", *French Review*, XXXIV(1961), p.425.

- 4 P.France, *Racine's rhetoric*, Oxford, 1965, p.31.

- 5 K.G.Holmström, *Monodrama, attitudes, tableaux vivants*, Stockholm, 1967, p.13.

- 6 The term *comédien* has been used throughout to describe the type of serious actor corresponding to the post-1630 dramatic ideal, the representative of Classicism in contrast to the *histrion/farceur* type of popular entertainer.

- 7 See D.Stone, *French humanist tragedy*, Manchester, 1974.

- 8 D.Stone, *French humanist tragedy*, p.175. In this context *honnête homme* would seem a more appropriate term than "courtier".

- 9 M.Fumaroli, "Rhétorique et dramaturgie, le statut du personnage dans la tragédie classique", *RH7*, 1972-III, pp.223-50.

- 10 M.Fumaroli, "Rhétorique et dramaturgie, le statut du personnage dans la tragédie classique", *RH7*, 1972-III, p.225. See also plate 62.

- 11 Fumaroli, op. cit., p.226.
- 12 Rollin in his *De la Manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres*, Paris, 1726-8, IV, p.487, claimed Floridor had written a manuscript on the art of delivery. No trace of this actor's manuscript has been found to the present day.
- 13 See for example D.H.Roy's paper, "Acteurs et spectateurs à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne", in *Dramaturgie et Société*, éd. Jacquot, Paris, 1968, I, pp.287-96, and B.L.Joseph, *Elizabethan acting*, Oxford, 1951, both of which tend to see rhetoric as a "code" or language of gesture familiar to the seventeenth century and since lost.
- 14 P.France, *Rhetoric and truth in France*, Oxford, 1972, p.13.
- 15 Goibaud-Dubois, *Les Sermons de S. Augustin*, Paris, 1694, p.xxxix.

CHAPTER ONE

PRONUNTIATIO IN FRENCH WRITINGS 1620-1730

The following chapter aims to examine French writings on *pronuntiatio* between 1620 and 1730 with a view to tracing the development and establishing the principles of the French Classical art of declamation. 1620 has been chosen as a starting point by virtue of the fact that one of the major sources for seventeenth-century French writers on *pronuntiatio*, Ludovicus Cresollius's *Vacationes autumnales, sive de perfecta oratoris actione et pronuntiatione*, was published in this year. No attempt will be made to analyze Cresollius's encyclopaedic work in full, the main function of its inclusion in this thesis being to indicate the advent of a new interest in, and specialized treatment of *pronuntiatio* as an art in its own right in seventeenth-century France. The choice of 1730 as a closing date is more arbitrary, representing the point when it would seem that the Classical approach to delivery epitomized by Le Faucheur's *Traité de l'action de l'orateur* (1657), had been supplanted by a less formal approach in which sympathetic identification counted for more than study of time-honoured principles. Since it is evident that the theory of acting must have followed the general aesthetic of the period, the evolution of the approach to *pronuntiatio* provides, in the absence of seventeenth-century acting theory, an indication of probable trends and preoccupations in acting at this period. The particularly exact rules and principles which charact-

erize the French Classical art of *pronuntiatio* may therefore be seen to correspond to the approach to tragic delivery and the principles which governed stage acting at a roughly similar period. In addition knowledge of seventeenth-century principles of *pronuntiatio* provides the essential background to study of eighteenth-century theories of acting and indicates the extent to which these theories had their sources in a French tradition of writings on *pronuntiatio*.

CLASSICAL SOURCES

To appreciate the context, selection and emphasis of advice on *pronuntiatio* in seventeenth-century French writings it is helpful to be familiar with the basic principles of the major classical authorities on this aspect of rhetoric, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. Certain parts of these writers' treatment of *pronuntiatio* must be covered in some detail however if they are to be of value and apology is made for what may seem unnecessary depth.

Aristotle's advice on *pronuntiatio* is somewhat disappointing, for having acknowledged delivery to be "of the greatest importance" (*The "Art" of Rhetoric*, III.i.3), Aristotle found himself unable to give details for its management, no extant work on delivery being available to

him¹. Despite absence of precise principles for delivery, Aristotle's thought on the subject was to be of significance in fostering a link between acting and oratorical delivery and developing certain emphases in the treatment of *pronuntiatio*. For Aristotle suggested that acting and oratorical delivery shared a common art based upon expression of emotion largely through vocal qualities. In the words of Cassandre's French translation of 1654:

tout le secret de cela [l'action] consiste dans la Voix, et à sçavoir comment on s'en doit servir pour chaque Passion, par exemple pour connoistre Quand il faudra Elever sa voix, ou l'Abaissier, ou Parler à l'ordinaire. Il consiste encore à observer les Tons diferens, qui sont l'Aigu, le Bas, et le Médiocre, et même le Nombre, car il est certain que tous ceux qui s'étudient à la Prononciation ont accoustumé d'observer ces trois choses, Le Corps et la force de la voix, L'Harmonie, et le Nombre. Et de vray cela est si important, que de tous les Orateurs qui paroissent dans les actions publiques, il n'y a presque que ceux qui ont la prononciation belle et qui récitent bien, qui ayent de l'avantage sur les autres...par la même raison que presentement pour le Theatre les Comediens ont un avantage considerable sur les Poëtes²

The emphasis on delivery as an art of emotional expression was further reinforced by the descriptions of the Passions which occupied II,ii of the *Rhetoric*, and by the distinction Aristotle made between the sort of diction appropriate to a delivered as opposed to a read text. For the former "qui aura à estre récitée et prononcée de vive voix" would be "Pathetique et pleine de mouvement", in other words it would express passion. Significantly the acting-oratory link is referred to also in this context, "de fait c'est pour

cela que les Comédiens recherchent particulièrement les Ouvrages en qui éclate l'un ou l'autre de ces deux caractères les Mœurs ou les Passions "3. In Aristotle's *Rhetoric* therefore acting was identified with oratorical delivery as an art which in its most supreme form aimed to express emotion through the resources of volume, tone and cadence. Two types of acting, one concerned with those fixed categories *les Mœurs* (the Characters of Man), the other concerned with the Passions, are isolated and identified with two types of oratorical delivery. The first type of acting is related to a style designed to be read, to be clear rather than emotive. The second corresponds to the most impassioned style of oratory which exploits to the full the expressive potential of the voice. Inevitably these distinctions were to be associated by later critics with Comedy and Tragedy, an association reinforced by Aristotle's definitions in the *Poetics*. For Tragedy was described in terms which recall the analysis of the art of delivery in the *Rhetoric*, as concerned with moving the passions through, in the words of J. Racine's translation, a "discours composé pour le plaisir...qui marche avec cadence, harmonie et mesure...il y a des choses qui se représentent par les vers tout seuls, et d'autres par le chant"4. Declaimed oratory and tragic acting shared common characteristics therefore: expression of the passions and concentration on bringing out the forceful, harmonious,

rhythmic qualities of the diction through management of volume, tone and cadence. These were features which were to be further emphasized by Cicero and Quintilian in their discussions of the business of oratorical delivery, as the following examination aims to point out.

The importance of delivery is discussed in many of Cicero's writings but the body of his advice on the subject is contained in *De Oratore*, *Orator*, and *Brutus*, works which were to provide Quintilian with authoritative support. Like Aristotle Cicero identified a particular type of acting with oratorical delivery as an art of emotional expression. In two major respects however Cicero modified Aristotelean thought on the subject. Firstly a qualitative distinction is made between two types of acting, the one sufficiently close to the decorum of oratory to serve as a model, the other lacking the necessary dignity. Embodying the first type was Roscius, "cet excellent Acteur... qui ne fait rien qui ne soit dans la bienséance, et dans la perfection, et accompagné d'une grace charmante"⁵. These qualities therefore were those that the orator should seek in the actors he chose to imitate in accordance with Cicero's advice: "il est nécessaire sur tout, de bien choisir ceux que nous voulons imiter, et il faut observer non seulement les Orateurs, mais les Acteurs pour ne former que de bonnes habitudes"⁶. The sort of actor to be avoided was the

low comic or mime, for as Cicero warned, "il faut bien prendre garde que de copier des choses qui sont deshonnêtes, ou de copier avec trop d'affectation celles mesmes qui ne le sont pas, c'est à faire à ces Farceurs qui representent des Mimes"⁷. As Cassagne's seventeenth-century translation shows so clearly, the style of comic acting which aimed to "copier quelque maniere ridicule, et defectueuse", the farce technique of mimicry, was distinguished qualitatively from a serious, graceful, cultured style of acting. This distinction was to be of prime importance in the formation of two separate styles of acting in seventeenth-century Paris, and was crucial to the controversy surrounding Molière's conception of comedy.

The second way in which Cicero modified Aristotle's description of delivery was in his discussion of emotional expression. Like Aristotle Cicero conceived of delivery as primarily an art of pathetic persuasion. The business of the orator was to move his audience through effective representation in his own person of the passion he wished to arouse. In the second book of *De Oratore* these passions had been isolated as "L'Amour, la Haine, la Colere, l'Envie, la Pitié, L'Esperance, la Joye, la Crainte, le Dégoust, ou le Depit" (Cassagnes, p.295), a classification which shares some of Aristotle's categories: "La Colere, le Mépris, La Douceur d'esprit, l'Amour, la Haine, la Crainte,

l'Asseurance, la Honte, le Bienfait, la Pitié, l'Indignation, l'Envie, l'Emulation" (Cassandre, pp.197-284). In book III these categories of emotion are recalled in the context of the orator's delivered expression of feeling. For Cicero suggests that it is not sufficient to portray feeling instinctively, the orator must base his expression upon knowledge of the categories and characteristic tones and gestures (that is all body-language) appropriate to each passion. The audience would then recognize these signs and be moved, according to the principle that "la Nature a mis dans toutes les ames les principes des mesmes passions, et ...aussitost qu'on en voit les marques, on reconnoist en autrui ce qu'on a ressenti en soy-mesme" (Cassagnès, p.552). To be able to move the passions therefore it was necessary to have mastered the rules of the art: "si la nature seule faisoit tout ce qu'il faut en ces rencontres, on n'aurait pas besoin de recourir aux regles de l'Art, mais les affections du coeur humain ne sont pas toujours si sensibles, qu'on ne puisse s'y tromper; de sorte qu'il est important de débrouïller cette matiere, et de donner à chaque passion le dehors qui luy convient naturellement" (Cassagnès, p.545). The rules of the art consisted then in describing the tones and gestures appropriate to each emotion, a process which was to be enriched by Quintilian and further expanded by illustrations from literature and physiological writings during the seventeenth century in France.

The French treatises to be examined in this chapter could draw authority for their detailed analysis of tonal and gestural manifestation of feeling from Cicero's statement in *De Oratore*:

En effet chaque passion a un extérieur particulier, et ces divers changemens se découvrent, selon qu'ils sont produits par les mouvemens de l'ame, comme les cordes d'un instrument rendent de divers sons à mesure qu'elles sont touchées par celui qui en joue. Ainsi l'on peut prendre une voix aigue, grave, prompte, lente, haute, basse, et un milieu entre les deux extrémités, d'où se forment de différentes prononciations, celle qui est douce, celle qui est aspre; celle qui est pressée, ou diffuse, continue ou interrompue, entrecoupée, flechie, tendre et timide, resonnante et hardie. Toutes ces différentes inflexions de voix tombent sous la dispensation de l'Art, et sont à l'Orateur pour varier son discours, ce que les diverses couleurs sont au Peintre pour varier son tableau

(Cassagnes, pp.545-6).

The precise descriptions of tones appropriate to different passions will be found in Appendix III, illustrating the extent to which Cicero was willing to formulate an art of delivery based upon prescriptive rules, and thus to provide a model for seventeenth-century writers. In this context it is important to emphasize the place attributed to rhythm and harmony in Cicero's conception of emotional persuasion. Like Aristotle Cicero stressed that the sounds and cadences of the diction, independent of meaning, would contribute to arousal of emotion, and that these effects would be most pronounced in verse and singing:

Or entre toutes les choses du monde les nombres et les sons se rapportent aux sentimens de nostre ame, par une merveilleuse sympathie; ils ont le

pouvoir de nous réveiller, de nous animer, de nous adoucir, il nous inspirent ou de la langueur, ou de la joye, ou de la tristesse. Veritablement cette force est plus sensible dans les vers et dans les chants

(Cassagnes, pp.532-3).

The correlation between emotional expression in acting and oratory and certain cadences and harmonious sound was thus extended from Aristotle to Cicero and thereby to seventeenth-century conceptions of the style of impassioned oratorical or dramatic delivery.

Although the main emphasis in Cicero's discussion of emotional expression was on the voice, he expanded Aristotle's analysis by stressing that "dans toutes ces passions il faut avoir un geste convenable" (Cassagnes, p.549). *Gesture* in rhetorical theory was not restricted to the meaning of movements of the hand. As the definitions in appendix V illustrate, the term could be used in both this limited sense and more generally to apply to all movements of the body expressive of feeling. Throughout this thesis *gesture* will be used in this wider application except where it is obvious that movements of arm and hand are involved. Where a distinction has to be made the term *manual gesture* will be applied to avoid ambiguity.

Cicero's treatment of oratorical gesture was to be a determining influence upon seventeenth-century writers

and further reinforced the link between a style of decorous, emotional acting and a style of oratorical delivery. By distinguishing between a type of gesture used in farce which was grotesque and unattractive, and a type used in oratorical delivery which was based upon the best social model, Cicero established a precedent for correlating serious acting with polite-*étiquette* or *bienséance*. Thus the general posture of the body was to be "d'une manière qui soit masle et noble" (Cassagnes, p.550) and expression of emotion was to be shown primarily with the eyes since "pour le reste du visage il n'y faut pas faire trop de changemens, de peur d'aller à quelque indecence et à quelque difformité" (p.551). Oratorical gesture, like that of serious acting, was to be a dignified, controlled expression of thought or emotion, that is "un geste convenable qui ne fasse pas voir à l'oeil, ni toucher au doigt toutes choses par les contorsions de la main comme celui des basteleurs, mais qui declare en general la pensée" (Cassagnes, pp.549-50).

Further reiteration of certain aspects of this treatment of delivery are to be found in *Orator* and *Bautus*, and were to be taken up and expanded upon by Quintilian in his *Institutio Oratoria*, Book XI. For Quintilian, as for Cicero, oratorical delivery and serious acting shared common features which enabled the best actors to be models

or even, as is suggested in Book I, a teacher for the orator⁸. At the same time a qualitative distinction is made between two types of acting, one appropriate for the orator to imitate, the other to be avoided because of its lack of dignity and decency⁹. Furthermore delivery is once more seen as primarily an art of pathetic persuasion through management of tone, volume and rhythm, combined with appropriate use of gesture. And finally, like Cicero, Quintilian conceives of this art in terms of knowledge and practice of general principles, particularly those relating to tones and gestures appropriate to the broad types of human emotion, the passions. By virtue of his more detailed description of *pronuntiatio* Quintilian provided later writers with a valuable source to supplement Cicero's less systematic study. Together with Aristotle, these two writers proved of formative influence on seventeenth-century conceptions of serious acting and oratorical delivery. A few examples from Quintilian will illustrate the extent to which he furthered principles already established by Aristotle and Cicero.

For Quintilian, as for his predecessors, *pronuntiatio* was fundamentally an art of pathetic persuasion based upon vocal and gestural expression: "c'est une nécessité que les sentiments et les passions languissent, si la voix, le visage, et tout l'extérieur de celui qui parle, ne les

embrase, pour ainsi dire"¹⁰. The actor's art rested upon the same principle, being designed to enhance a text by rendering it more moving: "nous en avons une preuve, mesme dans les Comédiens, qui adjoutent tant de graces aux pieces les plus excellentes, que nous aimons encore mieux les entendre réciter ces pièces, que d'en faire nous-mesmes la lecture" (Gedoyne, p.745). If fictional subjects when appropriately delivered were able to "nous causer du trouble et de l'inquiétude...nous tirer des larmes des yeux, ou... nous enflammer de passion", then Quintilian argued, the real subjects of oratory would have a still more powerful effect when effectively delivered (Gedoyne, p.746; *I.O.*, XI.iii.5). The art of delivery then was concerned with vocal and gestural expression of emotion: "l'Action estant composée...de deux parties, qui sont la voix et le geste, dont l'une frappe l'oreille, et l'autre les yeux, deux sens par lesquels nous faisons passer les sentimens et les passions dans l'ame des Juges" (Gedoyne, p.748; *I.O.*, XI.iii.14).

According to Quintilian's understanding of the concept, Art involved study, practice and imitation, a striving to perfect the natural and express the true essence of Nature. Thus he explained that those "qui s'imaginent qu'une action, où il n'entre point d'art, et telle que

l'impétuosité naturelle d'un Orateur la peut produire, est plus forte" were welcome to their opinion, while "nous autres...ne croyons pas qu'on puisse rien faire d'excellent, qu'autant que l'on cultive les dispositions naturelles" (Gedoyne, p.747; XI.iii.10-11). To this end the orator might practise declamatory exercises (XI.iii.29), a principle which Renaissance pedagogues were to adopt with enthusiasm as a means of training school-boys in the art of delivery¹¹. In this practice would be applied the principles of the art itself; thus the speaker would aim to correct vocal defects (including provincial accents), and improve breath control (XI.iii.33-9). He would strive to avoid monotony and to strengthen his voice. In this context two techniques developed by Demosthenes and which were to be reiterated in seventeenth-century writings are mentioned. Firstly his practice of reciting as many lines as possible while climbing a hill to increase his lung capacity, and secondly his habit of rolling pebbles under his tongue when practising privately so as to improve his enunciation (XI.iii.54). These were classic examples of how natural defects might be corrected and made perfect by diligent study and practice. Demosthenes's further technique of preparing his gesture before a full-length mirror was another example of this and was to be similarly influential on later writings¹².

Like Cicero Quintilian suggested that expression of emotion in oratorical delivery or indeed any art, required knowledge of particular principles:

la voix se modifie- suivant la détermination de la volonté. Or il y a deux sortes de mouvements, les uns vrais, les autres feints, et purement imités. Les vrais éclatent naturellement...mais ils ne dépendent point de l'art, et n'ont nullement besoin de préceptes. Ceux au contraire qui ne sont que copiez, dépendent de l'art, mais la nature ne s'y trouve point. C'est pourquoy quant à ceux cy, pour les bien exprimer, il faut commencer par les ressentir, par se représenter vivement les choses, et en estre touché, comme si elles se passoient sous nos yeux. De cette sorte, la voix comme interprete de nos sentiments, portera sans peine dans l'esprit des Juges la mesme disposition, qu'elle aura prise dans le fond de nostre intérieur

(Gedoy, p.760, XI.iii.62).

The tones and gestures appropriate to certain feelings required precepts therefore as well as some sort of imaginative identification. It was on the degree and place of each: precept and imagination, that later writers were to differ, the seventeenth century sharing the classical belief in the value of prescriptive advice, the eighteenth believing in the power of the imagination as a self-sufficient method of emotional portrayal. Quintilian's prescriptive advice on tones characteristic of certain passions is to be found in appendix III, which reveals the extent to which seventeenth-century writers used Quintilian as a source.

In addition to this advice, more general principles concerning tones appropriate to particular divisions of the speech ~~were~~ given in XI.iii.161-74. A gentle delivery was recommended for the exordium or opening of the speech; a slightly more emphatic delivery for *narratio* or statement of facts; a varied delivery for proofs, and appropriately pathetic tones for the peroration depending upon the emotion one hoped to arouse. This advice was to be consistently repeated in seventeenth-century French studies of delivery.

It was Quintilian's more-detailed treatment of gesture however which made his text so valuable a source for later writers. Like Cicero, Quintilian correlated gesture (body-language) with expression of emotion in a suitably dignified manner, to reinforce the voice. Thus gesture "luy-mesme suit naturellement la voix, et obéit à l'ame conjointement avec elle" (Gedohn, p.761; XI.iii.65), and "cette grace si nécessaire à un Orateur vient aussi des mouvements du corps" (Gedohn, p.762; XI.iii.68). Gesture therefore was required to be expressive, but only in as far as its expression accorded with a particular social pattern of dignity and grace. Gesture was to be regulated by a social and moral determinant. The approach Quintilian adopted to treat gesture, examin-

ing movements of head, face, eyes, brows, arms, hands and feet, was to be followed by later writers of seventeenth-century France, this being the pattern adopted by Cresollius and Le Faucheur. For the most part Quintilian remains faithful to Ciceronian principles but expands upon them so as to include more technical details. Especially significant is his more detailed discussion of the brows, of changes in skin colour, and of the physical changes which passions might produce in the eyes, for these were to be reproduced with yet more concern for physiological accuracy in seventeenth-century writings on delivery. It is important to emphasize that these elements were already present in rhetorical theory before Descartes's *Passions de l'âme* (1649) gave added impetus to consideration of physiological effects of the passions.

The eyes continued to be the most important element in gestural expression of emotion, "c'est par eux sur tout que nostre ame se manifeste, jusques-là que sans mesme qu'on les remüe, la joye les rend plus vifs, et la tristesse les couvre comme d'un nuage" (Gedoyne, pp.763-4; XI.iii.75). However since these effects could not be produced at will, Quintilian laid particular stress on the eye-brows which could be consciously shaped to suggest certain feelings:

les sourcils demandent une attention particulière. Car outre qu'ils contribuent aussi à donner une certaine forme à l'oeil, ils gouvernent le front absolument. C'est par eux qu'il s'ouvre et qu'il se resserre, qu'il paroist tantost fier et audacieux, tantost bas et timide. Et comme si la nature eust voulu qu'une mesme chose fist en luy plusieurs effets, le sang qui est destiné à son entretien, semble s'accommoder aux différentes affections de l'âme.
(Gedoyne, p.764; XI.iii.79)

The few indications Quintilian gave of the physical effects of the passions invited seventeenth-century writers to further investigate this phenomenon of the influence of Soul over Body, and of the characteristics of certain passions. Coeffeteau's *Tableau des passions humaines, de leurs causes et de leurs effets* (Paris, 1620), Cureau de la Chambre's *Les Caractères des passions* (Paris, 1640), as well as Cresollius's *Vacationes autumnales* (Paris, 1620) all bear witness to the development during the seventeenth century of an aspect of emotional expression highlighted by Quintilian. In these works such basic principles as were given by Quintilian to the effect that the blood "échauffé par un sentiment de honte...couvre le front d'une certaine rougeur" (Gedoyne, p.764; XI.iii.79), were expanded and discussed in enormous detail, and something of this detail was to be reflected in studies of oratorical gesture.

Quintilian followed Cicero in advising that the head

be held "droite, et dans une assiette naturelle", but further added that "elle doit tousjours se tourner du costé du geste, excepté dans les choses qu'il faut ou refuser, ou rejeter, ou que nous avons en horreur et en exécration. Alors, en mesme temps que nous repoussons de la main, nous détournons la teste pour marque d'aversion" (Gedoyne, p.762; XI.iii.62). This advice was to be reiterated throughout the seventeenth century.

Although Quintilian shared Cicero's emphasis on only the upper half of the face being decorous in oratorical gesture, and although he agreed mimicry was inappropriate Quintilian provided very detailed suggestions for precise manual gestures. These were to be appropriated by certain later writers such as Bulwer, Wemyss and Legras, but for the most part by the seventeenth century these manual configurations had been excluded from the standard advice on oratorical gesture as inappropriate. More influential were Quintilian's general remarks on management of the arms and hands, such as that the movement of the hand was to begin at the left and move gracefully across the body, beginning and ending with the thought expressed (XI.iii.107). The hand was not to be raised above eye-level or lowered below the stomach, nor was it to extend too far from the trunk (XI.iii.112). The left hand was

not to be used alone, nor were such gestures as rubbing the end of the nose or protuding the chest or stomach to be indulged in (XI.iii.114-6). As far as these principles were concerned, French seventeenth-century concepts of dignity and grace concorded with those of classical Rome. However gestures such as slapping the thigh or the detailed manual gestures Quintilian suggested were no longer considered worthy of inclusion or imitation by French orators.

Quintilian's discussion of *pronuntiatio* established principles and methods as well as a certain pattern of presentation which were to become the basis, along with Aristotle and Cicero, for seventeenth-century French writings on delivery. The classical treatment of oratorical delivery favoured identification of a particular style of serious acting with a style of pathetic persuasion appropriate to oratory. This style of emotional expression rested upon the theory that by representing an emotion with voice and gesture, the orator could arouse that same emotion in his audience. Furthermore it was suggested that certain conscious principles applied to management of this style, that the techniques of persuasion could be studied, practised and perfected into an art of delivery. Fundamental to this concept was the idea that

the emotions should be clarified and made universal so that an audience would immediately recognize the signs of certain feelings. This fostered the development of a classification of emotion with descriptions of tones and gesture appropriate to each, which the orator would learn and practise until they had become second nature and could be enriched by his own personal empathy with the feeling expressed. Finally it should be noted that an important element in emotional persuasion was accorded by all three classical authorities to the diction and cadence of the text itself. It was from this synthesis of thought on *pronuntiatio* that French seventeenth-century writers were to draw their inspiration and particular conceptions of the style of serious acting and oratorical delivery.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BACKGROUND

Although it is not the intention of this thesis to cover transmission of *pronuntiatio* in the sixteenth century, it is clearly necessary to be acquainted with something of the approach which preceded that of our period. By the sixteenth century rhetoric classes were being given in the majority of schools and arts faculties in France, and as a discipline it played an important part in the education of the sixteenth-century school-boy, having been

extended from its place as a professional skill to a position of weight within the educational system¹³. From Buisson's *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du seizième siècle* (Paris, 1886), it is possible to discover which rhetorical texts enjoyed most favour at this period. Three works ran to more than ten editions in France during the sixteenth century, Melanchton's rhetoric dating from 1520-30, Talon's *Rhetonica e Petri Rami* of 1547, and Soarez's *De Arte rhetonica* of 1560, the latter being the manual recommended for use in the Jesuit colleges of the period. All three texts drew upon classical sources for their advice on rhetoric, Cicero and Quintilian being the major authorities. As far as *pronuntiatio* is concerned however these manuals are disappointing. Soarez's text, which dominated Jesuit teaching of rhetoric until the 1660s¹⁴, deals with delivery in a perfunctory manner at the end of his third book. Talon's advice was more detailed, an abstract of Quintilian's principles being contained in the second book of his rhetoric. As far as rhetorical manuals were concerned therefore, those that followed Ramist principles in identifying rhetoric with *elocutio* and *pronuntiatio* rather than all parts including *inventio* and *dispositio*, inevitably gave greater space to discussion of delivery. Thus of the two major vernacular rhetorics of the period, Pierre Fabri's *Grand et vray art de pleine rhetorique* (Paris, 1521), and Antoine Fouquelin's *La Rhétorique françoise* (Paris, 1555), the first deals

with delivery in a few summary lines, while the latter goes into greater detail.

Turning to the more specialized rhetorics designed for the preacher, an understandably greater interest in delivery is apparent.¹⁵ Erasmus's *Ecclesiastae sive de ratione concionandi* (1535) covered delivery according to the pattern established by Quintilian in *Institutio oratoria*, XI, in the third book of his text. Valerio's *De rhetorica ecclesiastica* of 1574 also included a short final chapter on delivery, and in 1576 Luis da Granada's *Rhetorica ecclesiastica* gave due consideration to the subject in book VI, Quintilian and Cicero again being prime sources. The distinctive feature of these studies of delivery is their greater concentration on tones appropriate to certain figures of speech than was apparent either in classical authorities or in seventeenth-century French treatises. Where the seventeenth century focused upon the passions and their expression with tone and gesture, the sixteenth century emphasised the figures as the primary machinery of expression and so advised upon tones, and in some cases gestures, appropriate to each.

LUDOVICUS CRESOLLIUS AND VACATIONES AUTUMNALES (1620)

Although therefore certain writings had treated *pronuntiatio*

to the more detailed sort of analysis for which Cicero and Quintilian had established a precedent, awareness and application of classical principles of delivery at the beginning of the seventeenth century in France was clearly very limited. The appearance of Ludovicus Cresollius's *Vacationes autumnales* in 1620 marks a turning-point in the treatment and application of *pronuntiatio* in France on two counts. Firstly Cresollius's decision to isolate *pronuntiatio* for detailed individual study gave a new importance to an aspect of rhetoric which Augustinian influence had tended to deprecate as of purely sensual appeal. Cresollius, a Jesuit of some distinction¹⁶, established delivery to be a subject worthy of scholarly study and thus prepared the way for French re-evaluations of the advice of Cicero and Quintilian on this part of rhetoric, such as the works of Le Faucheur, Le Gras and Bretteville. As important as this contribution however was Cresollius's further emphasis on the social importance of principles of *pronuntiatio*. For *Vacationes autumnales* is written according to a pattern which recalls that of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, being in the form of a discussion between Jesuit school-boys of principles of delivery during their autumn holidays in a country-house. As in Castiglione therefore the ideal which emerges from Cresollius's text is concerned with standards of behaviour appropriate to a certain category of society, the educated élite. To some extent identification of

the dignified Ciceronian orator with a certain social ideal had been effected in France during the sixteenth century. Similarly principles of *pronuntiatio* had already served as a pattern for the formation of vocal and gestural grace in the colleges¹⁷. War and internal strife however had prevented the oratorical ideal from establishing itself as a social paradigm at this period, and it was not until the seventeenth century that it was able to find its full expression in the formulation of the concept of the *honnête homme*. Cresollius's study of *pronuntiatio* is indicative of this development, highlighting very clearly the extent to which classical principles were taken over and directly applied to the formation of French culture in the seventeenth century. Especially significant to the present study is the evidence Cresollius provides of Quintilian's principles of *pronuntiatio* serving as a model for the formal behaviour of the cultured Frenchman of the period. The concept of dignity and decorum which governed classical theories of oratorical expression was accepted substantially as fitting for cultured expression in general. As will be seen from French treatises covering delivery, only in certain particulars was the advice of Cicero and Quintilian to be found inappropriate to seventeenth-century French society.

Vacationes autumnales was to be a valuable reference-book for later writers, such as John Bulwer, on the subject of

delivery, for in 610 pages Cresollius discussed and illustrated with quotations from classical literature the basic precepts of *pronuntiatio* given by Cicero and Quintilian. It is important to point out however that *Vacationes autumnales* was not a standard handbook for the study of this aspect of rhetoric, as Le Faucheur's *Traité de l'action* (1657) was to become. It would appear rather to have followed the approach advocated by the *Ratio studiorum* of 1599 for the master of rhetoric, and to have been to some extent a source-book from which such a master might draw examples to illustrate his classes on delivery. For Cresollius followed precisely the pattern suggested by the *Ratio*; first he gave one of Quintilian's or Cicero's precepts on an aspect of delivery; this was followed by authorities "qui sont du même avis et qui donnent la même règle"; by "les raisons qui militent en faveur de cette règle", by "les preuves que l'histoire, la fable ou l'érudition fourniront" and finally by showing "comment ces règles peuvent s'appliquer aux sujets que nous traitons, et avec quel choix et quelle parure d'expression elles doivent être employées"¹⁸. The disadvantage of this method was so to lard the basic rules as to blur the force of their instructive content, as B. Gibert was to perceive in his criticism of *Vacationes autumnales*: "les digressions sont si fréquentes et si longues, qu'elles étouffent tous les préceptes que l'Auteur y donne sur l'action"¹⁹.

Although therefore the doctrinal content of Cresollius's text remains faithful to classical principles of *pronuntiatio*, aspects of his approach herald developments which were to characterize later French treatments of the subject.

Chief of these is the stress which Cresollius placed upon the notion of decorum, an emphasis which necessarily involved consideration of a moral and social norm. Throughout his advice on gesture and voice, Cresollius refers back to decorum as the determining factor in deciding whether a certain movement or tone may be employed. From the details he gives it becomes apparent that his conception of decorum was dependent upon two factors, firstly the belief that Man's body is a reflection of his soul and should therefore be as perfect and graceful as possible; secondly acceptance of contemporary social etiquette. Thus for example the head, face, brows and eyes must be carefully managed so as to convey an impression of the dignity and moral rectitude of the speaker²⁰, and one must avoid certain habits such as scratching the forehead, coughing, spitting or gesticulating²¹. In both cases the ideal advocated is based upon avoidance of extremes in an attempt to match the harmony of body and soul representative of Divine order. The originality of Cresollius's text resides in the particular application of this concept to *pronuntiatio*. By subsuming the notion of decorum expressed by Cicero in *De Officiis*²² with that relating to oratorical delivery, and by further identifying this decorum with

those treatises on manners such as Erasmus's *De Civilitate morum puerilium* (1530)²³, Cresollius favoured a development in which *pronuntiatio* came to represent a code applicable to all forms of formal speaking within a certain social milieu²⁴. The more detailed consideration of gestural management than of vocal variation which marks *Vacationes autumnales* epitomizes this concern with social propriety.

Pronuntiatio, as Cresollius emphasized, was primarily seen as an art of emotional expression however, and it was necessary therefore to establish to what extent the physical changes naturally produced in emotional states could be suitably imitated by the speaker. In Cresollius, as in later French writers, an attempt is made to reconcile the characteristics of the passions with the dignity and decorum of the speaker and his audience. The degree of interest in the passions and their physiological manifestations which Cresollius showed added a new dimension to principles of *pronuntiatio* and prepared the way for the direction which French treatises were to take. In the three hundred or so pages of Book II Cresollius dissected each component of bodily expression from head to foot, analysing to what extent classical descriptions of body-language in emotional states might be appropriate in dignified delivery. It was in this choice of classical literature as a source that Cresollius was to differ from later French writers whose

examination of the passions was to be more substantially influenced by current physiological studies such as those of Cureau and Descartes.

However, examination of Cresollius's analysis of the physical signs of emotion reveals that classical authorities and seventeenth-century physiological treatises were far from antithetical. As Quintilian's references to brows and changes of complexion have shown, a substantial part of classical treatment of emotional states included precise physiological details. Although therefore Cresollius's evidence was literary rather than scientific, its function and flavour was similar to that of later physiological studies of the passions. The collection of quotations which Cresollius accumulated to provide descriptions of body-language in particular emotions, were not intended to be models for correct delivery. Their inclusion in *Vacationes autumnales* was to acquaint the speaker with "natural" expressions of emotion and to excite discussion of the extent to which these could be rendered with appropriate decorum. An exactly similar pattern was to be followed by John Bulwer whose *Chironomia* offered examples of "natural" gesture, while the *Chironomia* indicated how these might be made compatible with oratorical delivery. Thus for example, citing Book VII of the *Aeneid*, Cresollius explained that in extreme anger or grief the head might be tossed but that

the orator, even when expressing strong emotion must be wary of excessive head-tossing as this would be incompatible with oratorical dignity²⁵. As in Cicero and Quintilian, it is the face, and in particular the upper part of the face which is emphasized as that part of the body in which expression of emotion might be best shown with suitable grace. Cresollius describes movements of the brows and qualities of the eyes which reveal emotion, expanding the principles of Cicero and Quintilian with additional classical quotation. Thus he explains that in anger the eyes will be fiery, in joy they will sparkle and become humid to the extent of tears, while in modesty they will be dropped²⁶. However, throughout this advice the caveat of decorum dominates and the speaker is warned that extremes must be avoided for fear of suggesting brutality or effeminacy. Tears of joy were thus inappropriate²⁷.

In three major respects therefore Cresollius gave a new shape to *pronuntiatio*. Firstly he established it to be an aspect of rhetoric as worthy of serious consideration and study as *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*, and in this way prepared the way for the works of Le Faucheur, Bary and others in which delivery was to be examined as an art. Secondly he reinforced identification of orator and cultured gentleman by suggesting that the educated élite apply to their discourse those principles of effective

tonal and gestural management found in classical rhetorical theory. *Pronuntiatio* was identified by Cresollius with the correct behaviour of the *honnête homme*, an assumption which was similarly to characterize Faret's *Honneste homme* (1634) and render inevitable further identification of the new-style *comédien* with these same principles. The consequences of this identification may be gauged from the third feature of Cresollius's treatment, his emphasis on decorous expression of emotion. The passions were held to have certain characteristic physical signs which, provided they conformed to contemporary standards of moral and social decorum, might be applied by the speaker to excite similar emotions in his audience for persuasive ends. Emotional expression in art would thus be regulated firstly by academic classifications, and secondly by a socio-moral determinant. Seventeenth-century writings on expression of emotion in delivery and on the status of the serious actor will indicate the extent to which this conception of *pronuntiatio* was to dominate artistic expression.

WEPY'S WRITINGS ON DELIVERY

In its detail and erudition *Vacationes autumnales* was far from typical of writings on *pronuntiatio*. More representative and more revealing of the precise principles of delivery familiar at this period are Jean de Wepy's treatises on

rhetoric, published between 1625 and 1647 but presumably written before his death in 1630²⁸. Wepy, who described himself as "Verdunois, licencié ez Droits et citain (sic) de Verdun", in the title page of his *Adresse* (Paris, 1636), was clearly most concerned to set forth simply and clearly those principles of classical rhetoric most useful "pour bien haranguer, plaider, prescher"²⁹. His detailed study of "l'Action" (i.e. *pronuntiatio*) in the *Adresse* and more particularly in the *Stille de l'orateur* (3e éd., Paris, 1647), is unusual however in rhetorics of this period, which tend to omit or brush lightly over *pronuntiatio*. Wepy's treatment offers therefore one of the best indications of trends and emphases in instruction of delivery before Le Faucheur.

Wepy's debt to classical sources is evident both in the presentation and the principles of his treatment of *pronuntiatio*. The subject is divided into vocal and gestural aspects with voice being given the major rôle; prescriptive rules, practice and imitation are established as the method to acquire the art, and expression is related to variation according to subjects, figures, passions and parts of the speech. However, as compared with Le Faucheur's treatment Wepy's is less systematic and shows less interest in expression of emotion. Advice on vocal variation for example is restricted to the suggestion that one use "celle qui est lamentable aux choses tristes, la majestueuse aux choses relevées; la violente aux choses atroces, la basse

et mesurée aux avertissemens et conseils, la desdaigneuse, la feinte, la douteuse, la plaintive, la moqueuse, celle qui denote l'interrogation, etc, où il en est besoin"³⁰.

There is no attempt in Wepy's work to examine the characteristic physical signs of the passions and to apply these principles to oratorical delivery. Only in his advice on manual gesture are precise movements attributed to certain emotional states, providing a sharp contrast with later French writings on oratorical gesture. For, with the exception of Le Gras who included certain of Quintilian's manual gestures³¹, French treatises on delivery after Le Faucheur consider gestural language as a total bodily response to an inner feeling. Emotion is seen as source of a variety of body movements or signs: head, brows, eyes, face, stance, arms, hands, whose appropriate co-ordination will suggest a particular feeling. Although Wepy emphasized that the face and eyes should change with the subject expressed³², the bulk of his attention is concentrated on manual gesture and on particular positions which might be applied to certain subjects or emotions. The mechanical nature of Wepy's treatment may best be assessed from some examples.

Of the twelve manual gestures described by Wepy six have elements which may be traced in Bary's *Methode pour bien prononcer un discours* (1679), and which therefore would

appear to have belonged to a certain pattern of oratorical gesture familiar in the seventeenth century. Elements of Wepy's advice may be matched by principles in J. Bulwer's *Chironomia* (London, 1644), which was itself based to a large extent on Cresollius's analysis of gesture, by aspects of Le Faucheur's treatment and by F. Lang's *Dissertatio de actione scenica* (1727) also. However important distinctions between these works must be considered before defining the particular nature of this common pattern of oratorical gesture. While Wepy, Bulwer and Lang describe gestures which have much in common, they are not uniform in their conception of oratorical decorum, nor are the number or significance of gestures consistent. All three draw upon classical sources including Quintilian for their advice but accept their authority in differing degrees. As compared with French treatises such as those of Le Faucheur and Bary however, the works of these three writers share a greater interest and more particular study of manual gesture. Le Faucheur and his followers were substantially to reduce the descriptions of manual positions which their major source, Quintilian, provided, in favour of a conception of oratorical gesture in which the whole body, and the face in particular, would be used to reveal emotion "naturally". Only Le Gras, whose treatment is an almost literal transcription of Quintilian, was to include details of hand positions

but without the specific detail of Wepy, Bulwer or Lang. Bary's *Methode pour bien prononcer un discours* stands apart from both this group of writers and from Le Faucheur and his followers in this respect. His treatment of gesture incorporates elements of both approaches, but in an entirely new and atypical manner. For Bary was to describe total body-positions or attitudes which might correspond to particular subjects or emotions, and neither his descriptions nor his classification correspond to other writings on the subject either before or after the publication of the *Methode* in 1679. Since he taught declamation himself, Bary may be assumed to have incorporated in his advice on gesture elements of traditional rhetorical doctrine and more personal experience of preaching and preachers. His *Methode* coalesces the rhetorical method of prescriptive advice combined with imitation of good models and applies it to *pronuntiatio* in a new way.

With these reservations in mind comparison of Wepy's descriptions of precise gestures with those of later writers may yield valuable evidence of the code, if code it should be called, of oratorical gesture in the seventeenth century. All twelve gestures and two body-positions suggested by Wepy may be paralleled by similar advice in later writings, although not always in the same acceptance nor with equal emphasis. The first manual gesture described by Wepy, that to be used "quand on veut designer quelque denombrement" hardly requires description, although the fingers specified

are of interest: "on faict...ce denombrement pressant du second doigt de la main droite le poulce de la gauche, puis du poulce droit les autres doigts de la main gauche l'un apres l'autre" (p.490). Quintilian had suggested merely that we... "comptons par nos doigts"³³, advice which had been expanded by Cresollius and reiterated by Bulwer who explained that "the Left Thumb prest downe by the Index of the Right Hand, doth urge and instantly enforce an argument"³⁴. However by 1657 French rhetoricians were advising that the speaker avoid counting on one's fingers "les parties de la Division du discours"³⁵. In keeping with the emphasis which was developing on the speech as an emotional representation, gestures which stressed the doctrinal, mechanical elements were being reduced.

The second gesture, used in "interrogation", in which "on eslevera un bien peu la main en la renversant", was again a gesture derived from Quintilian, but which by the mid-seventeenth century would appear to have been accepted as needing no precise description³⁶. The gesture Bary describes differs significantly from this advice in suggesting that the hand be placed "sur un des costez"³⁷. Bulwer and Lang however include the precise gesture as described by Quintilian and Wepy³⁸. The Chauveau engraving to *Bérénice* (plate 25) may be an illustration of this questioning gesture.

"Colère" and the gesture of a clenched fist which may be beaten on table or desk, indicates the extent to which Wepy's advice would appear to belong to an earlier tradition and pattern of decorum than that acceptable to Le Faucheur and his generation. Bulwer was to describe it as an extreme gesture "an action of Rhetoricall heate", Lang was to warn against clenching the fist, while Le Faucheur and his followers were expressly to warn against the impropriety of striking desk or pulpit³⁹. Again Bary remains outside both groups, suggesting an attitude for anger in which facial expression and posture count for more than manual gesture⁴⁰. Plates 17-22 suggest that a static use of the clenched fist was acceptable on the French stage, especially in the eighteenth century, with the signification of resolve or refusal to be moved.

Of all the gestures described by Wepy that to be used "au deuil" would appear to have had the widest acceptance, presumably because it corresponded to later conventions governing expression of sadness or misery. Wepy suggested that "on joint les deux mains en entrelassant les doigts" (p.490), Bulwer that "both Hands clasped and wrung together, is an Action convenient to manifest griefe and sorrow", and Lang that both hands joined at the chest or stomach would be suited to lament and sadness⁴¹. Bary's descriptions of

gestures suitable in "Plainte" also involve hands with fingers entwined, and plates 43-52 indicate the frequency of this position in painting and theatre of the period. It should be emphasised however that standard French treatises of the seventeenth century did not prescribe this gesture as one to be learnt as part of the art of *pronuntiatio*, presumably because it would have been acquired naturally as part of familiarity with contemporary practice.

By contrast the gesture appropriate "en asseurant", in which "on met la main estendue sur le coeur", was to be reiterated throughout such treatises, Le Faucheur advising that the right hand "s'applique bien à propos à la poitrine quand l'Orateur parle de soy, ou quand il désigne son intérieur, son coeur, son ame, sa conscience"⁴². Bary recommends it as a gesture of tenderness and Lang suggests it should be used when the speaker refers to himself and his feelings⁴³. Plate 12 illustrates the gesture in a frontispiece to Corneille's *Tite et Bérénice*. This gesture and those expressing threat, aversion or indication are the only manual gestures consistently laid down in seventeenth-century French writings on oratorical delivery as part of the prescriptive art. Threat, Wepf suggested be expressed by raising "l'indice droit en le hochant" or by raising the hand and using it like a chopper, "monstrant la seule espaisseur...comme si vous vouliez trencher" (pp.490-1). The first gesture, based on Quintilian's description, was to be reiterated in the

advice of Bulwer and Lang, while Le Faucheur and his followers were to be less exact in recommending merely that the hand be raised in threat⁴⁴. The raised index could also be applied however to emphasize a point of one's argument or to indicate forcefully, as Bulwer acknowledged and Bary indicated in his description of the gesture called "Doctrinal"⁴⁵. Plates 39-42 illustrate the gesture used in one or other of these forms, the difference presumably having been shown through the words and force of the gesture. The "chopper-threat" is unique to Wepy.

Acceptance of only one element of Wepy's advice is again evidenced by suggestions concerning expression of scorn/irony/mockery. Wepy gave two appropriate gestures, either "on abbaisse vers la terre les deux indices estendus, mais de costé", or one raises "les deux mains renversées par une petite secousse jointe à un hoche-teste" (p.490). The first of these is identified by Bulwer with "an ironical intention"⁴⁶ and it is probable that the traditional unfavourable associations of the left side were applied to advantage in this connection. Bary is alone in incorporating elements of Wepy's advice into seventeenth-century rhetorical theory, suggesting that irony be shown by turning the head to the left, that in "triomphe" the head be moved up and down and that this motion of the head should be combined with an inclined body in the "pousse-à-bout"⁴⁷. The latter element picks up Wepy's recommendation that the body may be bent

forward to "imprimer une vérité" ardently (p.487). No other writers indicate this as a rule, although Wepy's other advice on the body to the effect that it may be inclined back with the head in questioning, admiration and scorn, was to be denied acceptance within the Classical French aesthetic of Le Faucheur and his generation. For they were specifically to warn against the posture of those who "en parlant, avancent le ventre, et reculent la teste en arriere"⁴⁸.

Of the remaining five gestures described by Wepy, two were to be directly advocated by later writers, two were to be contained within more general advice but not directly prescribed, and one was to be expressly condemned as indecorous. Firstly then the gestures of aversion/denial and of exhortation/instruction, gestures which were to form part of the code to be consciously learnt. Wepy explained that "on déteste, ou l'on denie, en jettant les deux mains estendues vers le costé gauche, baissant le poignet et levant le bout des doigts" (p.491). This was to be a favourite manual gesture of the seventeenth century, reiterated in theory and illustrated in painting, engraving and statuary. Bulwer was to recommend "the Hand propellent to the left-ward" for "aversation (sic), execration, and negation", and was to describe Wepy's gesture exactly as "fit to helpe the utterance of words coming out in detestation, despite and exprobaton"⁴⁹. Le Faucheur was to advise that the head be turned away from the direction of the hands to indicate detestation or refusal, and further advised that when the hands

are thrust away from one's body, this will indicate rejection of an idea⁵⁰. Le Faucheur's followers were to reiterate the same principle⁵¹. Illustrations further confirm this to have been a widely-practised gesture, both in painting and in connection with the stage. Plate 37 of Poussin's *Aurone et Cephalus* provides a good example of the gesture which Foesch-Whirsker was to reveal to have been used on the eighteenth-century stage, as his drawing of Lekain and Brizard in *Britannicus* shows (plate 38). In this context however it should be pointed out that illustrations of dramatic scenes in which this gesture is depicted, maintain the frontal positioning of the body which was so essential a part of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century acting technique⁵².

The manual position described by Wepy as suitable for when "on exhorte ou l'on enseigne", in which the right thumb is joined to the right index or to the third finger, was a gesture suggested by Quintilian and repeated throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in both rhetorical theories and works on acting as a graceful manual position. Thus Jouvancy recommended in 1692 that "il sied de joindre l'annulaire au médus, et d'écarter un peu les autres doigts"⁵³. Lang advised that the fingers be arranged so that the index be slightly extended with a gentle curve in it, the other fingers similarly observing a gentle curve⁵⁴. Paintings and engravings indicate the curved hand to have been a standard principle of graceful manual gesture in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. Plates 3, 9, 13, 15 and 16 show this particularly well. As a gesture appropriate to instruction it was to be recommended also by Bary who advised that "le Doctrinal veut qu'on...courbe un peu l'index vers le poulce (sic)"⁵⁵, and his description of the gesture "regne" applies, as Wepy had done, an association of judgement and reproach with a similar gesture raised and extended.

The gestures used in "appaissant" and in "supplication", as described in detail by Wepy, were not to be recommended in the French Classical works on delivery as such, although it is clear that they may have been the sort of gestures to which reference is made when Le Faucheur for example stresses that the hands may be used to "appeller, congédier, promettre, menacer, supplier, admirer, jurer"⁵⁶. Again Bulwer and Bary come closest to Wepy's advice in this respect, reiterating similar principles for expression of these ideas. Where Wepy suggested therefore that "appaissant quelqu'un, on monstre le dedans de la main estendue, le bout en haut, et la meut-on comme à petits bonds" (p.491), Bulwer was to advise that "Both the Palms held averse before the Breast, denote commiseration"⁵⁷. Two ways of pleading with someone are recommended by Wepy, firstly one may join the hands in front of the stomach, a gesture which comes close to that suggested in "deuil" and advised by Bary for "plainte". Or secondly "on estend les bras qui sont un peu abaissés, et les mains

renversées" (p.491). This form of entreaty was to be described by both Bulwer and Lang, Bulwer indicating that "the stretching forth of the Hand is the forme of pleading", and further explaining that the gesture may be made more emphatic by lowering the hands⁵⁸. Lang's advice was to extend both hands forward towards the one being addressed as if about to embrace him⁵⁹. Although of course, as in all rhetorical gesture, this attitude was based upon natural behaviour, its frequency in the visual arts of the period indicates it to have been an element in the vocabulary or code of gestural expression. In plates 17 and 46 for example the central female characters are to be seen making this gesture and directing their plea towards the Heavens, the extension of the arms in both cases indicating the depth of their emotion.

The final gesture Wepy described was that of repentance in which he suggested that the fist beat against the breast. This was to be one of the most obvious ways in which Classical French writers were to differ from earlier practice, for Le Faucheur and his followers were expressly to warn **against** beating the chest and Bary was to recommend that the arms be crossed over the chest as an alternative expression of penitence⁶⁰. Comparison of Wepy's advice on gesture with that of later French writers highlights the extent to which the Classical aesthetic of *pronuntiatio* attempted to make the speaker's gestural expression appear more sincere by

emphasizing facial expression rather than manual gesture and by identifying gestural expression with an emotional source rather than with particular motifs. Furthermore, Wepy's recommendations of certain gestures which were either to be absent from or directly advised against in later writers, indicate particular ways in which the Classical concept of decorum was applied as far as oratorical gesture was concerned.

Although in his advice on manual gesture therefore Wepy stands apart from Le Faucheur and his followers, certain aspects of his treatment of *pronuntiatio* share some of the concerns of these later writers. In his emphasis on the passions, in his description of the particular flavour of oratorical speech-rhythms and in his general rules on management of gesture, Wepy anticipates features of the Classical aesthetic. Throughout his rhetorical writings Wepy stressed the place of the passions in persuasion, providing another example of the characteristic seventeenth-century evolution of rhetoric as an art of emotional expression. His section on the proofs of one's argument included an analysis of the passions and their "nature", the passions discussed being "Joye, Espoir, Crainte, Indignation, Pitié, Amour, Haine, Desir, Fuite, Tristesse, Desespoir, Hardiesse, Colere, Honte, Envie et Emulation"⁶¹.

Of particular interest and unusual depth however is Wepy's

description of the highest style of rhetorical composition and its rhythmical flavour. According to classical authorities the best, most elegant type of composition would be one that observed some kind of harmony, which took account of the pure beauty of the sounds and their potential effect, as much as of the significance of the words. Wepy and later French writers of the seventeenth century were to take up this principle and equate the best style of writing and speaking with a certain harmonious colour. As Wepy explained there were two ways of speaking "l'une suivant l'assiette naturelle des mots, l'autre avec quelque entrelassement de paroles". The latter involved a sort of word-polishing "pour l'elegance du langage quand la premiere a quelque son mal-gracieux". Both styles had particular cadences and rhythms which distinguished rhetorical expression from "la façon du vulgaire totalement defectueuse", the latter style being particularly concerned however with such considerations. So strongly rhythmic was oratorical delivery that Wepy claimed to have invented a system of oratorical notation which would aid the speaker in this matter: "j'ay autrefois minuté par plaisir un traité du rapport des chants et tons de musique, aux tons que doit bailler le harangueur aux divers endroicts de sa harangue, qui est comme je croy, le vray maniemment de la voix" . As Langlois was later to suggest, oratorical delivery required particular consideration by the speaker of the cadences and rhythms of his speech and this created a style of oratorical delivery which came close to that of a Gregorian chant⁶². The style

of seventeenth-century tragic acting, the noblest style of dramatic composition, was similarly to emphasize the rhythms and cadences of the verse in a manner which was to come to seem artificial in the eighteenth century when the concept of style was undergoing substantial change.

Certain general rules for the management of voice and gesture were to remain as part of the standard body of advice on delivery given in French treatises. These rules, combined with advice on expression of emotion constituted the Classical art of delivery or declamation and were to prove influential on theories of acting. Wepy sets forth these rules in the same way that Le Faucheur and his followers were to do. Firstly he emphasizes that the voice must be strengthened by constant practice and should avoid extremes. Parts of the speech would need to be delivered in certain ways: the exordium would open in "un accent bas", then the voice would progressively be made more emphatic, although varying with subjects and passions, a climax being made in the peroration. As far as gesture was concerned there were rules which prescribed the range and style of movement to be made. The arms would not be raised above eye-level nor below the waist. In expressions of force the arms would be extended but they would rarely be fully stretched out and in most circumstances oratorical gesture with the arms remained close to the body. The left hand was not to move on its own but accompanied the right which would move from left to right across the body⁶³. These principles rather than ones for precise manual gestures, constitute the rules of oratorical delivery in seventeenth-century France.

Between Wepy's advice of 1625-30 and the publication of Le Faucheur's *Traitté de l'action de l'orateur* in 1657 there is little evidence of the development of *pronuntiatio* as an art in French writings. Most French rhetorics of this period tended to concentrate upon written style and contain little more than a passing reference to delivery where they refer to it at all. Bary's *Rhetorique Française* (1653), intended by the Académie to be the official French rhetoric, epitomizes this attitude, Bary's advice being restricted entirely to discussion of those parts of rhetoric concerned with composition: invention, arrangement and style. It was not until twenty-two years after the appearance of Le Faucheur's treatise that Bary was to consider, in his *Methode pour bien prononcer un discours*, principles of delivery. Only two works published between those of Wepy and Le Faucheur include sufficient mention of the business of delivery to merit attention; these are Salabert's *Les Fleurs de la Rhétorique française, avec une conduite pour ceux qui se veulent former à l'éloquence* (Paris, 1638) and La Mothe le Vayer's *Rhétorique du Prince* (Paris, 1651). Before turning to examination of these works however two major characteristics of French rhetorics of the period 1625-60 are worth recording since they highlight features of the approach adopted to *pronuntiatio*. Firstly there is evidence during this period of a more selective, more critical approach

to classical authorities, with more literal translations from Cicero, Aristotle and Quintilian, such as those of Cassandre (*La Rhétorique d'Aristote en François*, Paris, 1654), P. Du Ryer (*Oeuvres de Cicéron*, Paris, 1666-70), J. Cassagnes (*La Rhétorique de Cicéron*, Paris, 1673) and M. de Pure (*Quintilien De l'Institution de l'orateur*, Paris, 1663).

Where previously rhetorical principles had been presented in manuals in the form of a synthesis of major sources, classical and modern, there is a marked tendency in French rhetorics written after 1640 to follow, and acknowledge as having followed Cicero, Aristotle or Quintilian. Broadly speaking Cicero was to have the more profound influence on French rhetorical theory of the seventeenth century, but the increasing tendency to include and supplement with physiological details, Aristotle's advice on the passions is perhaps more significant, epitomizing the second major feature of the evolution of French rhetorical theory at this period, the importance attributed to the passions. Between 1600 and 1660 the syllabus of rhetorical instruction in French schools was broadened and enriched by more detailed concentration on the passions. By 1700 this development had transformed rhetoric from an art of argument to an art of emotional portrayal and persuasion. The course-notes of Jesuit masters and pupils of this period indicate that they believed firmly that "la rhétorique est moins un art de prouver qu'un art de persuader...les rhétoriques accordent d'importants développements aux *Passions*"⁶⁴. This emphasis may be seen

in B. Lamy's description of the figures of speech as certain ways of speaking corresponding particularly to emotional states: "les passions ont un langage particulier... les expressions qui sont les caractères des passions sont appelées Figures"⁶⁵ Similarly M. Langlois was to advise his sons in the note-book on rhetoric he composed for them in 1658, "quand vous lirez les pieces des anciens de marquer les pensées et les figures des passions qui paroîtront"⁶⁶. The repercussions of this emphasis on the teaching of *pronuntiatio* were understandably strong, motivating more detailed study of tones of voice and physical signs indicative of, and thus according to rhetorical theory, conducive to certain passions. The greater and more serious interest in delivery evidenced by the works of Le Faucheur, Bary and Bretteville for example, clearly owes much to this correlation of rhetoric as an art of emotional persuasion, of exciting feelings by their portrayal in word, cadence, intonation and gesture.

Neither Salabert nor La Mothe le Vayer displays either of these features to a marked extent in their approaches to delivery, although La Mothe le Vayer reveals a greater interest in gesture as communication than was evidenced in other contemporary rhetorical writings. Both Salabert's *Fleurs de la rhétorique* (1638) and La Mothe le Vayer's *Rhétorique du Prince* (1651) were intended to initiate

the young into rhetorical principles and present merely an abstract of traditional advice on *pronuntiatio*. It is significant however that both clearly considered this part of rhetoric to play an important rôle in the education of a certain social type, thus furthering Cresollius's identification of *pronuntiatio* with the code of behaviour of the élite. Salabert's remarks on delivery are concise to an extreme, presumably because Salabert considered "une longue étude et une assiduité incroyable" (p.125) to be more important than written advice on the subject. This is particularly apparent in his advice on gesture which he claimed to be regulated by "la prudence" and practice with a "vray amy et fidelle admoniteur...qui remarque vos deffauts, et qui vous ayde à compasser l'action" (p.124). The voice also was to be regulated by "prudence" but on this aspect Salabert adds two warnings, firstly that the voice should be used moderately at the beginning of the speech, and secondly that one must avoid overstepping the cadence requisite in oratorical delivery like those who "chantent en recitant" (p.124).

As B. Gibert was to remark upon⁶⁷ the final chapter of La Mothe le Vayer's *Rhétorique du Prince*, included a proportionally long study of "la Prononciation". Although broadly

based upon Quintilian, in selection and emphasis of advice La Mothe le Vayer's treatment is significant, revealing the major trends of French seventeenth-century approaches to the subject. Like Cresollius La Mothe le Vayer was more interested in gesture and in its power to communicate thoughts and feelings without words. Thus, although he emphasises that "les Gestes ne sont que pour accompagner [la voix]"⁶⁸, the traditional rhetorical adage, he suggests that in certain situations a language of gesture may exist. Significantly in light of eighteenth-century re-evaluation of mime, La Mothe le Vayer identifies such a gestural language with the art of the "anciens Pantomimes Grecs et Romains" and describes it as a "langage silencieux, où sans prononcer la moindre parole l'on ne s'entretient que par geste" (p.840). Unlike so many of his contemporaries whose attitude to mime excluded it from the realms of Art (see chapter two), La Mothe le Vayer's remarks in this context are free from qualitative judgement and acknowledge mime as a valid art-form, equivalent to "les Gestes inanimez d'une Peinture, ou d'une Statue" which "nous expriment beaucoup de choses, et nous font connoistre une infinité de differens sentimens" (p.840). The important point here is that La Mothe le Vayer correlates gestural language with expression of emotion rather than the sort of dumb-show or mime which his contemporaries would appear to have associated with these types of classical actor. La Mothe's

interpretation of the term *pantomime* comes unusually close for the period to the eighteenth-century understanding of the word⁶⁹.

However La Mothe was sufficiently of his period to believe firmly in the value of study and practice as a means of acquiring artistic ability. Expression of emotion through gesture was to be studied and diligently cultivated: "l'Action de l'Orateur et son Geste s'enseignent par preceptes, et s'acquierent par habitude comme les autres parties de l'Eloquence" (pp. 840-1). Moreover, according to this credo, natural faults or failings might be so corrected as to produce a consummate artist, the archetypal figure in this context being Demosthenes. Like this famous orator then one should not expect to be able to use gesture spontaneously and instinctively, but one should do as he did and practise long and hard to acquire oratorical gesture. Demosthenes's technique of rehearsal before a mirror, a technique which was to be of great influence on seventeenth-century oratorical theory and which was to come to epitomize the Classical approach to delivery and acting, is cited in this connection. For he "haranguoit par fois devant un miroir pour s'y observer soigneusement; et...fit bastir une chambre sous terre, où il passa deux ou trois mois dans sortir, pour se former sans distraction aux mouvemens du corps nécessaires à ceux de son mestier" (p.841).

As far as the rules of oratorical gesture are concerned La Mothe le Vayer remains faithful to Quintilian and echoes Wepy. The first precept prescribed "porte que le Geste ne doit jamais precéder la parole, ny estre continué depuis qu'elle a cessé" (p.841). Repeated throughout French treatises on delivery of the century this was to be one of the aspects of *pronuntiatio* against which eighteenth-century theorists were to react, establishing the contrary principle as more valid for acting and in some instances for oratory as well (see chapter three). On the range of oratorical gesture, again a principle influential on acting theory, La Mothe reiterated that "la main, pour n'estre pas tenuë indocte et rustique...ne doit jamais estre levée au dessus des yeux, ny abbaissée beaucoup au dessous de l'estomach. C'est la droite qui doit avoir le principal employ, sans l'estendre plus loin vers l'autre costé qu'environ l'épaule. La main gauche ne scauroit estre bien occupée toute seule à faire aucun geste" (p.841). Finally it is emphasised that facial expression should be carefully controlled so that the forehead, the nose and the mouth are not moved overmuch, and that the shoulders are not raised . The hand position regarded as graceful by Quintilian and Wepy is accepted by La Mothe le Vayer as it was to be by later writers: "l'on aproche (sic) du poulce le doigt du milieu de fort bonne grace, les autres demeurant estendus"

(p.841). Unlike Wepy however, but in common with Le Faucheur and his followers, La Mothe le Vayer considered "des coups sur l'estomach" as being unsuitable to the decorum of the orator. With the exception of Le Gras, whose advice was to be a free translation of Quintilian, La Mothe le Vayer was the only French writer to include Quintilian's advice on positioning of the feet in his treatment of *pronuntiatio*. The principle he gives, "sans les tenir trop joints on peut mettre le gauche un peu devant l'autre, mais ceux qui avancement le droit avec la main du mesme costé en mesme temps font une mauvaise posture" (p.841), was however a feature of contemporary deportment and dance movement and may be observed in paintings and engravings of the period (see plates 2, 3, 9, 13, 14, 16, 17 for example).

There was one other way apart from emphasis on expression of emotion and belief in the value of study and practice of particular precepts that La Mothe le Vayer shared the concerns characteristic of French rhetorics of the mid-seventeenth century, and this was in his conception of oratorical prose as having a particular cadence. In the *Rhétorique du Prince* he describes the flavour of oratorical delivery as "cét agréable ton de voix" which Quintilian "n'a pû exprimer que par le terme Grec d'*Euphonie*" (p.838), and in his *Considérations sur l'Eloquence françoise de ce temps* he emphasises the importance of this element. "Ce seroit se tromper de croire qu'encore

que l'Oraison n'ait pas ses pieds et ses membres si sensibles que la poésie, ils soient moins à considérer pour cela dans la prose que dans les vers...les Maistres asseurent que la cadence nombreuse d'un Orateur est bien plus difficile à observer que celle d'un Poëte", La Mothe explained, echoing Wepy's reflections and anticipating Langlois's statement on the particular style of delivery practised at the Bar.

Although La Mothe le Vayer drew his authority on delivery from classical sources as later writers were to do, and shared with them some of the tendencies characteristic of this period, noticeably absent from La Mothe's treatment are the sort of principles of tonal and gestural variation which were to become established elements in discussion of *pronuntiatio* after the publication of Le Faucheur's influential treatise, *Traitté de l'action*, in 1657. It remains therefore to examine this important work in some detail.

LE FAUCHEUR AND THE TRAITTE DE L'ACTION DE L'ORATEUR

For over a century Le Faucheur's study of oratorical delivery⁷⁰ was to stand unchallenged as the authoritative work on the subject, and was to inspire other writers to follow his approach. For the first time the rules of *pronuntiatio* given by classical authorities were set out clearly as they applied to the French language, and delivery was accorded isolated, detailed attention as an art. The enormous popularity of the work indicates that such a study was wanting and had satisfied contemporary taste

and provided a manual of principles for the training of the speaker. By the end of the century the work had gone into three editions, had been published in a Latin version and in 1702 was translated anonymously into English as *An Essay upon the action of an orator; as to his pronunciation and gesture*. The reputation of *Traitté de l'action* as a handbook for the art of delivery was unrivalled in the seventeenth century, the Parisian *avocat* Langlois, as early as 1658, recommending his sons to : "lire retenir et pratiquer tres exactement dans votre commencement un petit livre intitulé de l'action de l'orateur composé par le faucheur Ministre de grande reputation et admirable sur ce sujet et tres judicieusement observé, tant pour la chaire que pour le barreau" (*Institution oratoire*, ms. de la Cour de Cassation, Paris). This leaves no doubt then that Le Faucheur's work was used by those for whom he intended it, preacher and pleader. It is evident then that both in general approach and particular rules *Traitté de l'action* may indicate to a large extent the style of French oratorical delivery in the late seventeenth century. Furthermore, Louis Riccoboni's revolutionary approach to both oratorical delivery and acting in the early eighteenth century would seem to implicitly attack the principles of Le Faucheur on a number of counts, suggesting that *Traitté de l'action* had become the manual of the actor as well as the orator. Riccoboni's criticism

in *Pensées sur la déclamation* (1738) of treatises which "enseignent quand et à quels momens le Déclamateur doit être hardi, fier, orgueilleux, timide, tendre et abaissé" (p.24) is echoed in his *Dell'Arte rappresentativa* (1728) where the actor is warned not to "selon la ligne établie... déploie tes bras avec soin en haut et en bas" nor to practise "longtemps...devant ton miroir, pour donner à ton geste une suprême retouche" (Canto II). Both aspects of Riccoboni's criticism are applicable to Le Faucheur's authoritative updating of the classical rules of *pronuntiatio*, as examination of the text will reveal. It would seem probable therefore that *Traité de l'action* exercised a particularly strong influence on both oratorical training and preparation for the professional stage. By presenting the traditional principles of delivery in a succinct form and expanding upon them with principles of his own, Le Faucheur provided the new-style *comédien* with precisely the art he needed to lend weight to the ethos of the educated, studious actor/artist.

Where Wepy, Salabert and La Mothe le Vayer had considered delivery alongside the other parts of rhetoric, Le Faucheur, like Cresollius, isolates *pronuntiatio* for individual treatment. His reasons for so doing are explained in a preface "Aux Lecteurs" which, in keeping with the familiar

rhetorical device appropriate to the opening of a speech, the *captatio benevolentia*, is couched in the form of an apology to the reader for the prolixity of the advice to be given and a justification of such detail. Two reasons are advanced in justification. First of these is the fact that contemporary standards of delivery leave much to be desired since "la plus part de ceux qui parlent en public, sont si enclins à ce fâcheux vice de la Monotonie" (p.ii). The second reason is more closely related to Le Faucheur's own conviction that delivery is an art which must be learnt by diligent application and study. "Spontaneity and natural talent were clearly insufficient in Le Faucheur's scheme: "Quant à ceux qui s'imagineront que je me suis trop arrêté au détail de ce qui regarde la Prononciation et les diverses inflexions de la voix, ils ne m'en doivent pas blâmer, puis que c'est la partie la plus importante, et la plus difficile à acquérir, de l'Art dont j'avois entrepris de traiter" (p.ii). As this passage of self-defence reveals, Le Faucheur subscribed wholeheartedly to two characteristic features of his classical sources: the belief that art should be based upon study and practise of precepts combined with imitation of good models, and attribution of prime place in delivery to the voice. Early in his treatise Le Faucheur makes clear that the purpose of the work is "seulement de servir aux jeunes hommes qui se destinent à la Chaire ou au Barreau" and that it is not

intended for those who are "depuis plusieurs années dans l'exercice de parler en public" (p.18). This position is restated at the end of the treatise where the precise role which the precepts and rules should play is clarified: "Ce que j'entens que fasse un homme qui se propose de faire ce métier de parler en public, c'est qu'avant de s'y mettre, il apprenne ces préceptes de l'Action, qu'il essaye en son particulier de les pratiquer, et qu'il s'y adonne avecque soin jusqu'à ce que par un continuël exercice il s'en soit formé une bonne habitude"(pp.236-7). The aim then is for the speaker to so thoroughly absorb the principles of the art that they will become second nature to him and he will no longer have to consciously consider them when rehearsing or delivering his speech: "Quand par ces moyens et avec ces aydes, il s'est acquis cette habitude, il ne doit plus se mettre en **peine** de sa prononciation ni de son geste, ni y faire aucune réflexion soit en preschant, soit en plaidant, soit en se préparant à l'un ou à l'autre" (p.242). However moderate this method may appear, Le Faucheur was deeply committed to his belief in the importance of prescriptive training. Nature according to Le Faucheur's classical approach is never sufficient to produce the artist. Like Quintilian, Le Faucheur conceived of delivery as an art designed to be pleasing, graceful and affective, a conception which inevitably has as its basis a prescriptive norm

which excludes certain procedures and allocates to others precise applications. The terms in which Le Faucheur expresses his purpose bring this out, for he explains that his aim is not merely to "tascher d'achever ce que la nature n'y a qu'ébauché", but to "leur apprendre à faire par règle ce qu'autrement ils ne feroient qu'au hazard, à faire avec mesure ce qu'ils feroient ou avec défaut, ou avec excès, à faire differemment en certaines occasions ce que sans cela ils feroient en toutes indifferemment; et en un mot, à faire toujours à propos ce qu'ils feroient souvent mal à propos, s'ils n'estoient adressez par cet Art" (pp.45-6).

Le Faucheur's advice, like that of those who were to follow his approach, Bary, Bretteville, Le Gras, Duport, Du Roure and Grimarest, is a methodization of an established, accepted norm. The techniques outlined in *Traitté de l'action* represent techniques and forms of expression acceptable in the mid seventeenth-century French pulpit or law-court. However it is important to emphasise that these principles were only the bare bones, a preparation and not a rigid code. They are in sort the rules of a game which once mastered permit infinite variations and require no further conscious application. As such they are an important indication of the style and standards of oratorical delivery at this period but they cannot tell the whole story.

Having justified his purpose, Le Faucheur turns to review

what past writers had said on his subject, before presenting his own approach. Of the available works on *pronuntiatio* Le Faucheur is only concerned with the classical texts: Aristotle, Cicero, the *Ad Herennium* and Quintilian. Aristotle Le Faucheur explained, considered *pronuntiatio* to be "un don de la nature (p.11), while Cicero, although emphasising its importance gave no "règles particulières" (p.11). The *Ad Herennium* "en a traité un peu plus particulièrement; mais, ...ce qu'il en a dit est tres imparfait et de fort peu d'usage" (p.11). Quintilian alone in Le Faucheur's opinion "en (a) parlé plus amplement et exactement", but, according to Le Faucheur, "ses préceptes ne regardent que le Barreau, et il en faut aussi pour la Chaire" (pp.11-2). Moreover, even Quintilian's advice on pleading is imperfect since, as Le Faucheur pointed out, it was no longer entirely compatible with French manners. Certain precepts found in *Institutio oratoria*, such as the advice to "frapper son front, sa teste, sa poitrine, sa cuisse, de donner du pied contre terre et autres sembables" would be offensive if practised by the French lawyer, since they "ne s'accroissent aucunement à nostre usage" (p.12). Despite the fact that Le Faucheur based his approach and the majority of his precepts on those of his classical authorities then, his treatment was modified and transformed by awareness of contemporary *bienséance*. *Traité de l'action* provides therefore a good indication of the extent to which classical principles of

good speaking were transferred to French seventeenth-century society and the modifications which were necessary to bring these in line with contemporary etiquette. As examination of *Traité de l'action* will show, these modifications were less substantial than might be expected, a fact which reveals once more the extent to which French standards and principles of deportment in polite society had been transferred by the educated élite from classical writings on *pronuntiatio* to their own social group⁷¹.

Having reviewed his sources, Le Faucheur commences his own presentation in traditional manner with advice on management and qualities of the voice, according to it the customary prime place which was to characterize also the conception of acting held at this period. Of those qualities isolated by Quintilian, correctness, clarity, ornateness and propriety, Le Faucheur selects clarity for first consideration. It is in this context that Demosthenes is once more cited as an example of the extent to which Art may correct and perfect natural qualities. Le Faucheur reminds us that this famous Greek orator took lessons from the actors of his time and further practised certain techniques to help him cultivate vocal and gestural grace. Two of these techniques are of great interest in a comparison of theories of *pronuntiatio* and theories of acting since they occur in each. Practice before a full-length mirror has already been mentioned in the context of La Mothe le Vayer's advice, and Le Faucheur was

to reiterate the method in his discussion of gesture. For the voice however Demosthenes had another technique; to enable him to enunciate clearly he practised with pebbles in his mouth⁷². Some fifty years after the publication of *Traité de l'action*, the actor J. Poisson was to reveal that precisely this technique was also used by professional actors. The classical model was accepted and applied in a practical manner, it was not simply a motif illustrating the importance and value of diligent practice. Poisson's advice will be treated in depth in chapter three and will not be expanded upon here, but it is worth speculating to what extent Le Faucheur's treatise may have influenced acting practice and theory in the period 1660-1707. Clearly certain elements such as the pebble- and mirror-motifs were extended to acting along with principles such as the raising of the arm above eye-level, as chapter three will reveal. Presumably then the aesthetic of acting which pertained at this period came close to that expressed by Le Faucheur, an aesthetic characterized by belief in the importance of perfecting Nature by study and practice, and by a conception of Art based upon a certain social model of excellence, *la bienséance, la dignité*. As chapter two will attempt to show, the ideal proposed for the new, refined French *comédien* in the seventeenth century was rooted in the conception of social decorum. Furthermore discussion of tragic acting at this period indicates a similar

preoccupation with the passions and their expression to that found in *Le Faucheur*. Examination of the latter's advice on tonal and gestural variation according to the passions may be useful therefore in revealing the style of portrayal of emotion in tragic acting at this period. Perhaps also there were actors who followed *Le Faucheur*'s advice in preparing themselves for the Parisian stage and who considered it necessary "avant de s'y mettre" that he "apprenne ces préceptes de l'Action, qu'il essaye en son particulier des les pratiquer, et qu'il s'y adonne avecque soin jusqu'à ce que par un continuel exercice il s'en soit formé une bonne habitude" (pp.236-7).

The originality of *Traitté de l'action* lies in the detailed advice which *Le Faucheur* provides on tonal variation, advice which expands upon and enriches that of Cicero and Quintilian and which by virtue of its clear, highly-classified presentation was to serve as a model for later writers on the subject. Systematizing Quintilian, *Le Faucheur* indicated four major aspects of the speech that should be considered when approaching the question of vocal variation. These aspects, the Subject, the Passions, the Parts and the Figures, were to become the standard principles directing vocal expression in later treatises. Thus for example Richesource in 1665 was to describe vocal inflexions as being dependent upon "les Sujets dont on parle. Les Passions qu'il faut exciter. Les Parties du discours et

les Figures qu'on y employe"⁷³. Le Gras in 1671 was to follow a similar classification and Bary also, in his *Methode pour bien prononcer un discours* (1679) would appear to have been familiar with Le Faucheur's presentation, although his emphasis on the passions and their expression is more marked. His formula therefore was to be that the voice be varied according to "les parties qui composent le Discours... les passions qui y regnent et ...les figures qui l'embellissent" (p.2). Well into the eighteenth century the channels which Le Faucheur had established for vocal variation continued to be applied in writings on delivery.

Compared with previous writings on *pronuntiatio*, Le Faucheur's detailed analysis of tones appropriate to emotional states (the passions and the figures which were the language of the passions), is entirely new. Cresollius and Wepy had indicated how the voice might be modified in particular passions but neither had given to the subject the depth of interest and wealth of advice which was to be offered by Le Faucheur. This feature of *Traitté de l'action* provides further evidence of the characteristic attention given to the passions which critics have isolated in connection with rhetorical theory, with art history and with dramaturgy of the same period⁷⁴.

Leaving aside advice on subjects, parts and figures for the moment, what then does Le Faucheur tell us about emotional expression? How does he approach the question of the nature of the speaker's involvement and the rôle of the imagination

in expression of feeling? Since there may well be confusion with regard to this principle it will be useful to examine Le Fuacheur's attitude in some depth. Classical sources offered a variety of approaches to the rôle of the imagination and the degree of sincerity required in emotional representation. Cicero and Quintilian in their advice on rhetoric had both suggested that the imagination play some part in the orator's ability to portray feeling effectively⁷⁵. However, recourse to the non-rational resources of empathy was never suggested to be a self-sufficient method for expression of emotion, Quintilian in particular distinguishing between natural, true emotion and fictitious, artistic emotion⁷⁶. The latter required that the orator study his expression methodically and complement such training with recourse to the imaginative power during the course of the delivery. The state in which the speaker was himself moved was consequent upon artistic, deliberate preparation and it was therefore a spur to effective delivery rather than a creative source. Although Le Faucheur emphasised the importance of participation in the emotion expressed, his approach matched that of Quintilian. He was willing to attribute to the imagination a certain capacity which would enrich emotional representation but he did not accept, as later writers were to do, that the speaker's personal sincerity of feeling should replace knowledge of principles of emotional expression. Thus while he stressed that if one reflects deeply upon one's subjects and allows them to be impressed "fortement en vostre imagination" one will be moved oneself to the various passions and will be

able to move one's audience⁷⁷, this did not remove the need for knowledge of certain tones and gestures appropriate to particular emotional states. The power of the imagination therefore was not a pre-requisite quality of the artist, but a consequence of the artistic process itself. The speech designed deliberately and according to rational principles to move an audience would naturally move the artist himself during the course of its delivery. The degree of emotion felt by the speaker might depend upon his own sensitivity and willingness to allow himself to be moved, but it was not this sensitivity which had determined the style in the first place. This is where eighteenth-century theories were to diverge from the classical aesthetic, proposing the imaginative faculty as a determining factor in the quality and effectiveness of the style itself.

The details of tones particular to certain passions presented by Le Faucheur take up elements of the advice of Cicero and Quintilian but lend it a new, more systematic treatment which corresponded to contemporary classifications of the passions. Thus the orator will show:

son amour par une voix douce, gaye et attrayante,
 et sa haine au contraire par une voix aspre
 et sévère. Il fera voir sa joye par une voix
 pleine, gaye et coulante, et au contraire
 sa tristesse par une voix sourde, languissante,
 plaintive, et mesme souvent interrompue par des
 soupirs et par des gémissemens. S'il a de la
 crainte, il le fera voir par une voix tremblante

et hésitante. Si au contraire il a de l'assurance, il le montrera par une voix haute et ferme; s'il a de la colère, il la donnera à connoître par une voix aigüe, impétueuse, violente, et par de fréquentes reprises d'haleine...s'il est ému à compassion...il faut qu'il use d'une voix fort radoucie et fort plaintive...s'il veut témoigner ou donner de l'estime de quelqu'un, il le fera par une ton élevé et magnifique...si l'Orateur veut faire paroistre le mépris qu'il fait de quelqu'un, et l'exposer à celui de ses auditeurs, il faut que ce soit d'un ton dédaigneux, et sans aucune émotion ni contention de voix⁷⁸.

As the chart in appendix III reveals, later writers were to appropriate Le Faucheur's descriptions of these tones rather than to follow the terminology of classical authorities.

In common with his classical authorities then, Le Faucheur was of the opinion that although the speaker should partake to some degree in the feeling he was seeking to excite, this was not a sufficient artistic principle. Knowledge of the most fitting tones and gestures for the passions was required to precede the imaginative faculty and to provide the art of delivery with a rational, intellectual basis. Further evidence of the reasoned, prescriptive approach to expression of feeling is provided by Le Faucheur's advice on tones appropriate to figures of speech. The same highly-systematized approach is adopted in treatment of the figures, which were considered to be the language of the passions themselves it will be remembered. Thus an exclamation would need to be pronounced "d'un accent plus haut et plus excité que le reste",

while *jurement* would require "un ton fort élevé et...une grande contention de voix" (pp.143-5). Prosopopoea (or personification) would be rendered best if the speaker were to change his voice in some way to show that it was no longer he who was speaking. Apostrophe, in which the speaker addresses directly a person or object, would require a raised tone, the extent to which it would be raised depending on the person addressed. Dialogismos, a form of prosopopoea in which the orator feigns to be someone and then replies to the feigned person, inevitably would be most effective when the two voices were clearly distinguished. Epimone in which the speaker dwells on a point, expressing it in different ways, would necessitate a "voix vive, pressante et insultante" (p.151). Gradation in which "l'Oraison va en croissant à chaque membre de la période" would require that the voice "croisse par les memes degrez" (pp.156-7). Reticence, where one breaks off and proceeds to another topic, would be best shown by lowering the voice "d'un ton", having made the shift more emphatic by speaking the previous words "d'un plus haut" (pp.157-8). Subjection; where the opposing argument is stated and then replied to, would require one tone for the objection and one for the reply, a form similar to that appropriate in antithesis where contrasting ideas would be heightened by deliverieing "le premier avec un certain ton, et le second avec un autre", the latter in this case being higher in pitch (p.160). Finally three types of repetition

are mentioned by Le Faucheur: anadiplosis (immediate repetition of a word), anaphora (repetition of a word at the beginning of several consecutive periods), and epizeuxis (repetition of a word through several lines at the end of each structure). The first of these required that the emphasis be placed on the second application of the word, the other two requiring that the repeated word be pronounced "toujours d'une mesme façon, et d'une façon différente de la prononciation de tous les autres" (p.163).

It may be interesting in this context to apply some of Le Faucheur's advice on the figures and their delivery to tragedies of the period and to ascertain what might have been the effect produced had this advice been practised by actors. The manuscript notes of a Parisian schoolboy on rhetoric, *Rhetorica data Dionysio Jolivet*⁷⁹, written in 1722 give as an example of *exclamatio* the first lines of D. Diègue's speech in *Le Cid*, I, iv: *O rage! ô désespoir! ô vieillesse ennemie!*, a speech which offers in addition numerous examples of exclamation, apostrophe and repetition. Essentially however there is no reason why the actor playing the aged Don Diègue should deliver these lines in such a manner as to bring out their force with a raised voice. A slow, weaker tone might be as emotionally effective, although of course the effect would be different, suggesting the pathos of proud old-age. For the actor acquainted with principles of French oratorical delivery

however the most obvious approach would have been to seize upon the words *rage* & *désespoir*, to take note of the series of exclamations, apostrophes and repetitions and to deliver them accordingly. *Rage*, suggestive of anger and despair would remind the actor therefore that in anger the voice should be "aigue, impetueuse, violente", while exclamations would best be delivered in "un accent plus haut et plus excité que le reste". Similarly the voice would need to be raised in apostrophe to the sword, while further emphasis might be lent to the expression of anger and rage by appropriate delivery of the repetitions. The actor who followed Le Faucheur's advice then would succeed in exciting in the audience a sense of D. Diègue's violent anger and desire for revenge, where a style of delivery which deliberately reversed Le Faucheur's lines of guidance would tend to create an impression of helplessness and misery, D. Diègue being presented as an old man rather than a heroic figure.

In this context the importance of the rhetoric of the text in determining style of delivery is highlighted. The frequency and conspicuous use made of repetition in sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century tragedy would have encouraged the speaker of the lines to bring out the repetition and his knowledge of rhetorical theory would further have emphasised the force of such repetition⁸⁰. During the seventeenth century

the style of compositional rhetoric moved away from this more obvious, exaggerated use of the figures towards a style which seemed to be more genuinely inspired by the emotions of the speaker. This trend was matched by a parallel evolution in advice on *pronuntiatio* in which attention is drawn to expression of feeling rather than expression of the structures and devices of the text. Where Luis da Grenada and Erasmus had concentrated on tonal variation and gesture appropriate to particular subjects and figures, Le Faucheur encouraged the speaker to find the appropriate mood which fired the words and to deliver his lines in accordance with this mood.

The difference between the style of Corneille's rhetoric and that of Racine's accounts to a large extent for a corresponding difference in style of delivery or acting. The more overt use of antithesis, repetition and gradation for example in Corneille's tragedies invited the actor to bring out these figures and create an emphatic style of delivery. With Racine the focus turns to the passions and their physical effects, an attention which is scripted into the content and style of the text. The actor's concentration therefore would be shifted from the figures and predominantly vocal expression of mood to the passions, the psychology of the stage-character, and the ways in which passions might affect the whole body and especially the way the face and eyes might betray an emotion. The changes in style of rhetoric which were to occur in the eighteenth century (as for example in the tragedies of Voltaire)

similarly both reflected and conditioned a certain style of acting. *Pronuntiatio* indicated how best to exploit the emotive/persuasive qualities of a text, but the degree of emotion or emphasis would be dependent to a large degree upon the extent and type of figurative language, patterning and phrasing employed in the text. In this connection the cut versions of Corneille and Racine which were performed by eighteenth-century actors may be significant, revealing to what extent the emphatic quality of the text had ceased to appeal perhaps. A study of acting-editions of the eighteenth century from the point of view of rhetorical style would be of great interest, and would suggest something of the style of acting also.

Le Faucheur's detailed treatment of tones appropriate to passions and figures of speech constitutes the most original part of his rules for the voice as compared with those of his predecessors in France. Advice on vocal variation according to the parts of a speech and its subject is more familiar. However, here again Le Faucheur's exposition of traditional principles gains over those of his predecessors in its clarity of classification and exposition.

Thus the range of subjects likely in oratorical delivery is reduced by Le Faucheur to six broad categories: instructive material, wondrous examples "de la bonté, de la sagesse ou de la puissance", praiseworthy actions or circumstances, lamentable actions, happy, pleasing circumstances, and finally miserable ones. It is apparent from this list that the directing principle behind oratorical communication of all material except the purely didactic, is concern for emotional effect. Le Faucheur sees the subject-matter of oratory in terms of the feeling it produces in orator and audience and the tones he describes as appropriate to each subject were clearly designed to display, and thus empathetically induce such emotional response. Purely instructive material is alone in not requiring "de la chaleur et de l'émotion" according to Le Faucheur, and as a result the tone to be adopted should be factual and clear, "une voix bien nette et bien articulée" (p.107). All other subjects however necessitate moving out of the narrow range of objectivity into the notes of emotion. Thus marvellous examples of goodness, wisdom or power will best be rendered in "une voix grave et un ton d'admiration", while praiseworthy "justes et honnêtes actions" require a "prononciation pleine et haute, et...un ton de contentement, d'estime et d'admiration" (pp.107-8).

By contrast, deeds which are "injustes et infames" should be delivered with a "voix forte et émue" and a "ton d'indignation et exécration" (p.108). Circumstances which are joyful should be communicated in a "voix claire et gaye" while sad ones will be effectively delivered in "un accent triste et plaintif" (p.109). The aim of the speaker throughout is to stir in his audience the feeling which is most appropriate to his subject and thus to persuade his listeners to his cause.

This emphasis on pathetic persuasion is similarly apparent in Le Faucheur's advice on the regulation of the voice according to the progressive stages of the speech. According to rhetorical theory a speech was made up of a number of parts: the opening or exordium, the proposition or narration, the confirmation or refutation and finally the peroration. Although these divisions corresponded to stages in the argument, they were also designed to orchestrate the pathetic appeal, to win the audience to one's opinion by skilful manipulation of its feelings. Thus the exordium, both in content and in delivery, would deliberately play upon the *amour propre* of the audience by adopting a deferential, humble approach and tone. Le Faucheur explains that "une voix basse et modeste" should be used in this part of the speech precisely because "cette modestie est

fort agréable aux Auditeurs, comme estant un témoignage de l'estime en laquelle nous les avons, et du respect que nous leur portons" (p.133). An added advantage of beginning the speech in a moderate tone was that it spared the speaker's voice in preparation for the more demanding passages of emotional expression to come: "il est nécessaire à l'Orateur de ménager sa voix et de s'échauffer par degrez" (p.133). Only in exceptional cases would it be necessary to open in an impassioned, vehement tone. Having obtained the audience's attention by flattery, the speaker could proceed to the facts of the case, presenting this matter in a tone only very slightly higher than that of the opening because of the instructive quality of the material. Variety however was important to hold the audience's attention and Le Faucheur advises the speaker that he should modulate his tones according to "la nature et la qualité des actions et des événemens que l'on y récite" (p.140). Direct pathetic appeal commences in the confirmation or refutation where arguments for and against are presented, and, as a result this part of the speech requires "une plus grande contention de voix" and greater variety of tone (p.141). Finally in the peroration the most forceful attempt at pathetic persuasion is made as the orator opens all the stops and delivers his lines with the utmost emotion. To lend added power to

the effect of the peroration Le Faucheur suggests that a slight pause be made between the confirmation/refutation and the opening of this final part. This technique clearly gave the speaker an opportunity to take breath before the climactic finale, and Le Faucheur's further advice to begin the peroration "d'un ton un peu plus bas, et différent de la dernière période qu'il vient de prononcer" (p.141) enabled the speaker to dispose of a wider tonal range. The speech would end therefore in a mood of enthusiasm and conviction, being delivered in "une voix plus excitée, plus gaye, plus magnifique et plus triomphante, sur l'assurance qu'il a de sa bonne cause" (p.141). Oratorical delivery was regulated therefore into movements, the speech beginning gently and gradually, progressively building up to an emotional climax, a technique which came close to that which would appear to have been used by seventeenth-century French tragedians to excite what was called "le brouhaha", and which was to be attacked by Molière in *L'Impromptu de Versailles* (1663). Since this aspect of the overlap between oratorical delivery and tragic acting will be examined in chapter two, suffice it to say for the present that the seventeenth-century tragic actor would appear to have sought to "émouvoir comme l'orateur de la chaire cherche à émouvoir"⁸¹. That is, an attempt was made to bring out to the full the qualities of the text: figures of speech, the

expressive cadences and the passions, rather than seeking to identify with character. Thus Donneau de Visé was to praise Montfleury for the fact that he "fait beaucoup paroistre tout ce qu'il dit" and "pousse tout à fait bien les grandes passions", never failing to "faire remarquer tous les beaux endroits de ses Rolles" (*Nouvelles nouvelles*, III, p.255). It was this very style, a style based upon the oratorical ideal which Molière was to attack, satirizing in *Les Précieuses ridicules* (1661) the actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne in terms which recall both Le Faucheur and Donneau de Visé:

Il n'y a qu'eux qui soient capables de faire valoir les choses; les autres sont des ignorants qui récitent comme l'on parle; ils ne savent pas faire ronfler les vers, et s'arrêter au bel endroit; et le moyen de connaître où est le beau vers, si le comédien ne s'y arrête, et ne vous avertit par-là qu'il faut faire le brouhaha ?

(Sc. ix).

The oratorical ideal to which Le Faucheur's advice on delivery was intended to contribute, aimed to exploit the emotional potential of the text as fully as the traditional vocabulary and formulae of the form would permit. The point of departure for such expression is the selection and arrangement of words rather than identification with the subject as a whole or with the central character of the speech. The emotional force of the speech is resultant upon detailed

analysis and exploitation of the pathetic potential of patterns, cadences, and individual words in particular circumstances. Le Faucheur's concluding remarks on the voice reveal to what extent this highly-systematic technique might be carried. Having dealt with the subjects, figures, passions and divisions of the speech, Le Faucheur thus turns to the only other remaining elements: phrasing and individual words.

The ideal in oratorical delivery was to create a smooth, flow of sound and, as a result Le Faucheur stressed that, where possible, sentences should be delivered in one breath. Only very long sentences would require pausing to take a breath and, to avoid breaking the flow of the delivery, the orator should be careful to pause in appropriate places, that is to say, "après deux points, ou pour le moins après une virgule" (p.170). The demand such an ideal placed upon the speaker's vocal capacity was great and Le Faucheur acknowledges that constant practice and training will be necessary to achieve it. It is in this context that we are reminded once again of the value of Art in perfecting Nature, Demosthenes being cited once more to illustrate the principle. Just as he had corrected and perfected his enunciation by rehearsing with pebbles in his mouth, so

Demosthenes "ayant naturellement l'haleine fort courte, et voyant que pour parler en public il avoit besoin d'en avoir une bien plus longue", employed the services of the actor Neoptolemus "pour luy apprendre cét Art" (p.168). In this way, through study and hard practice, he was able to attain his aim, and acquire a strong, flexible voice. The French orator, Le Faucheur advises, should do the same, "il vous y faut exercer de mesme, et n'y épargner ni temps ni travail" (p.168). Whether Le Faucheur meant by this that the orator should seek the help of professional actors in this sphere is uncertain, but it is significant that his attitude to the actor is one of respect and acceptance of his skill and mastery of techniques appropriate to oratorical delivery. Ten pages later a similar example of this attitude is provided when Le Faucheur suggests that before a sentence which will demand "une grande contention ou élévation de voix" the speaker deliver the preceding sentence moderately. This technique, Le Faucheur informs us, was practised by Roscius and Aesopus, those actors so admired by Cicero (p.178). In both these cases therefore the refined actor is seen as sharing an art, and being proficient in techniques which applied to oratorical delivery. As will be seen in the context of Le Faucheur's discussion of gesture, throughout *Traitté de l'action* a certain type of actor is presented as a respectable professional whose art obeys

principles of *pronuntiatio*, an attitude directly absorbed from rhetorical theory. Only in one case does Le Faucheur refer to the techniques of acting in an opprobatory tone, and it is significant that in this instance the performer is described in terms which recall the attitudes of Cicero and Quintilian to popular entertainers rather than the actors of the literary, classically-inspired drama. Thus Le Faucheur advises the speaker that he should not beat his hands together or hit his chest for these would suggest the manner of the "Bastoleur et le Charletan (sic)" (p.217). Le Faucheur's references to the actor on two levels, one acceptable and the other outside the realms of good style good-taste and therefore Art, correspond exactly to the attitudes expressed by his contemporaries, attitudes which will be examined in chapter two. It was precisely this distinction between two types of acting which favoured identification of the new, refined French *comédien* with the art of *pronuntiatio* as opposed to the unscripted "art" or traditions of popular acting. Those actors of antiquity mentioned in connection with oratorical delivery: Roscius, Aesopus, Andronicus, Neoptolemus, were to be adopted as the paradigm for the new actor of French seventeenth-century Classical drama.

Turning back to Le Faucheur's advice on phrasing, the strong emphasis upon careful preparation to extract the maximum effect from one's text is again apparent. Just as the speaker had been advised to regulate his voice in accordance with the divisions of the speech, so in delivery of individual sentences he is reminded of the importance of vocal orchestration. After each sentence therefore it will be helpful to "faire une pause", its length depending upon the length of the sentence itself, "fort petite après les petites, et un peu plus longue après les longues" (p.176). The merit of such a technique lay not simply in the fact that it would give the speaker a rest but rather that it would highlight the material presented in a more effective way, aiding "à l'intelligence et à la mémoire de l'auditeur" by better distinguishing between sentences (p.176). After the pause a tone slightly lower than that on which the previous sentence ended should be adopted, not simply to relieve the speaker's vocal chords but to add variety and permit him to have at his disposal a wider range of tones for the sentence to come. In general then the movement of the oratorical period was directed towards a high point at the end of a flowing, varied delivery. However Le Faucheur stresses that these principles should not be so rigidly applied

as to become monotonous. The conscious care devoted to bringing out the qualities of the text in the most effective way is suggested by Le Faucheur's comparison between the painter's skill in shading and perspective and the orator's art of phrasing: "ainsi les Peintres représentent certaines choses avec des ombres et des éloignemens, afin de faire paroistre davantage celles qui doivent estre plus éminentes" (p.179).

The art of *pronuntiatio* shared the corrective which underlay the art of rhetoric in general, the concept of decorum. The orator's sense of social milieu, of the conventions which he would be expected to subscribe to in his delivery, was a basic component of his art, requiring that, to some extent, the speaker should practise personally in his everyday life the code of etiquette respected by those to whom he usually spoke. As Le Faucheur's remarks on the voice reveal, in seventeenth-century France the preacher and speaker were required to apply to their delivery the code of the educated élite. Decorum is not interpreted in the sense of "appropriate to particular circumstances and particular audiences", but is seen as a question of good taste. The conventions and standards of the educated élite are adopted to represent an aesthetic ideal. Thus those gestures which smacked

of popular culture, such as beating one's chest or hands, were excluded from the oratorical ideal and principles of deportment taught to the élite at this period may be matched by similar principles in writings on oratorical delivery. Similarly the accent to be adopted as the ideal was that of the educated, Parisian élite, Le Faucheur warning the orator to avoid provincial and popular pronunciations. The orator's accent should observe "l'usage commun et ordinaire de ceux qui parlent bien", and for this reason the speaker should try to "converser le plus qu'il peut avec les personnes qui parlent le mieux" and "prendre garde à leur prononciation" (p.182). Vaugelas' ideal had been accepted as the standard to be applied in French oratorical delivery, just as it was to be accepted as the standard in tragic declamation.

Finally in his programme on effective vocal exploitation of the text Le Faucheur examines variation according to individual words. From subject matter, through the passions, the figures, the divisions of the speech, and the sentences Le Faucheur proceeds to the last and smallest element, the words, and examines how maximum effect may be drawn from them. As in the other elements of the speech the orator

is advised to consider the meaning and emotive connotations of the words he delivers. The classification of words given by Le Faucheur suggests once again the strong emphasis on oratory as a persuasive art based upon expression and consequent excitement of emotion. Apart from words which affirm and words expressing quantity or universality, the other categories are distinguished by their pathetic potential. There are therefore words of praise and admiration, words of blame and censure, words of pity and words of "exténuation et ...ravalement" (pp.183-4). Words of praise will best be delivered in "un ton ...magnifique", examples of such words being *auguste*, *pompeux*, *majestueux* and *illustre*. The note of censure behind such words as *atroce*, *monstrueux*, *exécrable*, will be best conveyed by pronouncing them "d'une voix plus haute et plus émue" (p.183). Words suggesting pity on the other hand "estant tous mots tristes, requièrent aussi un accent de mesme", *lugubre*, *misérable* or *funeste* attaining thus their maximum effect (p.184). Finally those words of debasement, such as *vil*, *bas*, *chétif*, will best be rendered with a tone suggesting scorn "une voix plus abaissée, et...un accent plus dédaigneux" (p.184).

Le Faucheur's advice on vocal expression underlines the degree of conscious artifice which was applied

to an oratorical text in the attempt to exploit to the maximum its stylistic effects for the purposes of pathetic persuasion. The four major characteristics of Le Faucheur's advice offer important clues to the aesthetic which governed oratorical delivery and acting in mid-seventeenth-century France. Firstly it was an aesthetic which shared the classical doctrine of Art as perfecting Nature and rendering natural elements more effective through selection and idealization of characteristic features. In Le Faucheur's case this attitude is revealed in his belief in the value of prescriptive advice based upon axiomatic principles as a fundamental background to effective delivery. The consequences of this attitude are particularly apparent in the second characteristic of *Traitté de l'action*, the emphasis on expression as pathetic persuasion. Although Le Faucheur suggests how the imagination may be applied to help the orator deliver his lines with appropriate feeling, it is never suggested that this should be an artistic method in its own right. The speaker is not encouraged to identify with his matter to the extent that he will naturally and spontaneously deliver his lines with the necessary pathos. On the contrary he is advised to analyse deliberately and minutely the different elements of his text, to apply

his knowledge of general principles, and to practise his delivery until it is as perfect and as effective as he can make it. Perfection and effectiveness are moreover concepts directly dependent upon the other two characteristics of Le Faucheur's approach: belief in Ideal form and identification of propriety with the code of behaviour subscribed to by the educated élite. Expression of emotion is thus governed by intellectual awareness of universal human passions and their characteristic features. The speaker is not required or expected to study from life how men show their feelings but to use his theoretical knowledge of human behaviour as his guide. The expressive range is further limited by application of an élitist code of social grace. Thus those elements of the theory of the passions which conflicted with currently-held assumptions as to how a respectable person should behave were excluded. It is these final two characteristics which become most apparent in Le Faucheur's advice on gesture, to which we shall now proceed.

Only fifty-six of the two hundred and forty-three pages of *Traité de l'action* are devoted to gesture, underlining once more the extent to which oratorical delivery was a word and voice-based art of expression. Nevertheless Le Faucheur does not abandon gesture to the speaker's

own fancy and his approach rests upon precisely the same principles as directed advice on the voice. Rules are provided for each element of gesture: the body, head, face, eyes, brows, mouth, lips, shoulders, arms and hands, and throughout this advice is governed by emphasis on the passions and by awareness of social etiquette.

For Le Faucheur gesture was an additional means whereby the orator might increase the effectiveness, and in particular the emotive effectiveness of his speech.

Its purpose then was to "faire passer les pensées et les passions de son esprit en celui de ses auditeurs avec plus de plaisir et d'efficace: les sens estant beaucoup plus vivement touchez par la prononciation et par le Geste ensemble, que par la prononciation toute seule" (p.187).

The traditional rhetoric principle that pathetic persuasion operates by the orator displaying and thus inducing in his audience a certain feeling, is accepted unquestioningly by Le Faucheur. However exploitation of the emotional potential of the text would need to be tempered by the speaker's awareness of and subscription to the contemporary code of correctness in deportment. To retain the respect of his audience, Le Faucheur emphasizes, the orator must take care to avoid extremes and to ensure that there be nothing "en toute la disposition

et en tous les mouvemens de son corps qui offense les yeux de ceux qui le voyent" (p.193). Just as offensive sounds, such as lisping or shrillness, and provincial and popular accents had been excluded from the vocal ideal, so in gesture the social interpretation of grace regulates the orator's art of delivery. Like Wepy Le Faucheur recommends that a wise friend be enlisted to advise and criticize the speaker when he is rehearsing his speech, so that faults may be isolated and corrected before the actual performance, advice which reminds us again of the deliberate polishing which was deemed necessary in preparing the speech. Using the principles of his art to guide him, the orator was required to rehearse and predetermine his use of gesture in order to achieve the most effective and most graceful delivery possible. It was to this end that the mirror was employed, enabling the orator to check that his body-language successfully co-ordinated expressive gesture with visual grace. Thus Le Faucheur advises, as La Mothe le Vayer had done, that the speaker adopt Demosthenes' technique of rehearsing before a full-length mirror in order to "voir non seulement vostre visage, mais l'estat de tout vostre corps avecque toutes ses postures et tous ses mouvemens, pour reconnoistre s'il

y a en vous et en vos Gestes quelque chose de messéant et de desagréable: ou au contraire, quelque chose qui donne de la grace à vostre personne, et de l'efficace à vostre discours" (p.195). The place of the mirror in seventeenth-century rhetorical theory, and the interpretations of its function are axiomatic of the approach to delivery which such a theory directed. Firstly it reveals the extent to which seventeenth-century theorists were willing blindly, and to our eyes, uncritically to accept classical authority and appropriate their techniques. Demosthenes' use of pebbles and of the mirror were advocated and accepted by French seventeenth-century writers and, as the evidence of chapter three will show, were extended to the business of acting. If such practical methods were adopted, then it is logical to assume that the classical approach to delivery with its strongly analytical flavour and emphasis on expression of emotion, was also appropriated by seventeenth-century French speakers. On a second level the mirror-motif underlines once more the nature of the aesthetic which accepts it. As Le Faucheur pointed out, the mirror was used to check that one's gesture conformed to a certain pattern of expression and to perfect that expression if necessary. Underlying this principle then is the classical belief in the value of precepts and constant striving for perfection, of Nature perfected by Art.

Thirdly the fact that the mirror was to be used to check both expression and grace, and for this reason was to be full-length, reiterates how strongly the code of social gesture regulated that of oratorical expression. It was precisely this combination of ethos (or *bienséance*) and pathos which was to determine the *comédien's* style of acting in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century tragedy.

The precepts Le Faucheur gives on gesture amplify the implications of the mirror-motif in suggesting how expression of emotion may be reconciled with bodily grace. To those acquainted with Quintilian the general precepts are familiar and it may be assumed that Le Faucheur conceived it to be part of his function to make the major classical authorities on delivery available in the vernacular. *Traité de l'action* is an important text not because of its originality, but by virtue of the fact that it popularized classical theory and established it to be appropriate to French seventeenth-century delivery. A brief exposé of Le Faucheur's precepts will reveal the debt he owed to classical sources.

The body then should observe moderation in its movements and not "changer ... de place" or "de posture à tout moment", nor, going to the other extreme, should it "(demeurer) immobile comme un tronc" (p.197). Similarly the head should neither be held "élevée et tendue", an attitude which would suggest arrogance, nor be allowed to fall to the chest or one shoulder, the former obstructing vocal expression and the latter attitude suggesting "langueur" (p.198). The ideal manner of holding the head therefore is "droite, selon son estat naturel", movements being made smoothly in appropriate circumstances: "elle se tourne doucement sur son col, quand il en est besoin" (p.199). Except in gestures of abhorrence or rejection, the head should follow the direction of the hands.

Great care should be taken to ensure that facial expressions are both expressive and graceful, and here again it is suggested that the orator have recourse to a friend or mirror. The expressions should be varied according to the subject, passion and "qualité des personnes auxquelles vous parlez, more "gravité" and "autorité" being required when addressing one's inferiors (p.202). The main aim of facial expressions is to reveal and excite feeling, thus when speaking of "choses agréables" the face will adopt an expression of "gayeté", as it will also when

talking of "amour" and "joye". "Choses lugubres", "haine" and "douleur" on the other hand, will require an expression of "tristesse", while in "consolations" the face should be one of "douceur" and in "reprehensions" one of "severité" (p.202).

The eyes also should avoid extremes so as to look attractive, and at the same time be suitably expressive. Except when expressing certain passions (which Le Faucheur does not specify, but which Coustel in 1687 was to isolate as Indignation and Anger), the eyes should observe a gentle, straight gaze and be "doux et droits" (p.203).

Le Faucheur emphasises that expression of feeling in the eyes is produced automatically when one is moved and it is in this context that the classical axiom "to move others one must oneself be moved" becomes important. Since it is "la Nature ~~me~~me" which teaches the eyes to reveal emotion "quand vous sentez véritablement de semblables passions" (p.203), the orator must try to incite in themselves a similar feeling to that which they have to express and this, Le Faucheur suggests, may be done by having recourse to the imagination. Just as expression of feeling in the voice had required imaginative participation so with the eyes. In particular it would be essential to use the imagination when trying to produce tears

and Le Faucheur reminds us that in this respect the actors of Antiquity were masters. For, according to Le Faucheur, they studied to acquire "la faculté d'émouvoir leur imagination jusqu'au point de pouvoir répandre des larmes en abondance, et y ont si admirablement réussi, que mesme on en a veu qui en avoient encore le visage tout couvert après estre sortis du Théâtre" (p.205).

To this end they had several techniques, the most effective being to "s'attacher dans le secret de leur imagination à des sujets réels qu'ils avoient grandement à coeur, au lieu des fabuleux qu'ils représentoient, et qui ne les touchoient point en effet" (p.205). The most famous example of this technique applied was the actor Polus who, in Sophocles' *Electra* succeeded in weeping copiously over the urn supposedly carrying the remains of Orestes, by filling the urn with the ashes of his own son who had recently died. This fascinating example of a sort of method acting cannot have been without influence on seventeenth-century techniques of emotional expression although Le Faucheur does not recommend it as such, preferring to reiterate the more traditional doctrine that the speaker should reconstruct in his imagination the circumstances directly relating to his subject:

"l'Orateur se doit former en luy-mesme une forte idée du

sujet de sa passion, et ainsi cette passion s'émouvra infailliblement, et paroistra aussi-tost dans ses yeux, et mesme passera dans les yeux et dans les esprits des autres" (p.209). This strong emphasis on personally feeling the emotions one wishes to express and excite was to have important consequences on the development of acting theory in the eighteenth century. Once the prescriptive nature of *pronuntiatio* had been reduced in favour of personal identification as the major method, the path lay open to the debate between "hot" and "cold" acting which was to be central to Diderot's *Paradoxe sur le comédien*. By the mid-eighteenth century acting theory had polarized into two camps, that of Rémond de Sainte-Albine who favoured "hot" acting, and that of François Riccoboni who suggested that although the actor might feel some emotion, this was not a fundamental, necessary prerequisite of good acting.

As far as Le Faucheur was concerned it was essential that the orator himself feel the passion he wished to convey. However it is clear from the prescriptive advice which *Traité de l'action* contains that such identification was held to complete rather than to replace knowledge

of the passions and their physical manifestations, and detailed analysis and preparation of vocal and gestural expression of feeling. The imagination was particularly important in expression of feeling with the eyes because of the fact that eye expression and tears cannot be consciously controlled. Where it was possible to give advice on eye movements which can be voluntarily made, Le Faucheur does so. Thus he suggests that the eyes be raised in veneration, dropped in shame and raised towards "celuy par lequel on jure" in giving an oath (p.211).

Although the eyes themselves might only reveal sincere emotion, the brows could be consciously controlled and were thus of enormous help to the orator in representing the passions. The advice Le Faucheur gives on the brows may be compared with that given by Le Brun in his *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière* (1698)⁸² to the painter. Le Brun's text epitomizes the spirit of French Classicism in painting-theory by analyzing minutely the outward manifestations of the motions of the soul. In Le Brun's advice to the painter, just as in Le Faucheur's advice to the orator, there is more than a suggestion of the all-sufficiency

of rules for expression of feeling, and in both writers movements of the brows are attributed with particular significance in reflecting the soul. For Le Brun the brows were important because they were that part of the body nearest to the pineal gland wherein Descartes had suggested the soul to be placed. Thus in the calm, concupiscible passions the brows would move up to the soul (Amour, Haine, Desir, Fuite, Plaisir, Douleur) while in the irascible passions they would move away (Hardiesse, Peur, Espérance, Désespoir, Colère)⁸³. For Le Faucheur however the brows were of importance because they could be controlled consciously in a way that the eyes could not, to reveal emotion. Le Faucheur's principles for variation of the brows thus remain more faithful to traditional rhetorical theory, the brows should "se froncer en la tristesse....se dilater en la joye....s'abbatre lorsqu'il faut témoigner de l'humilité et de la pudeur" (p.212). Le Faucheur's merit lies however in his revival of Quintilian's principle⁸⁴, a principle which had been absent from Wepy's and La Mothe le Vayer's writings on the subject. Later writers were to follow Le Faucheur on this point.

Similarly faithful to Quintilian are Le Faucheur's precepts on movements of the mouth, lips and shoulders which precede his discussion of manual gesture. Like Quintilian Le Faucheur warns that the mouth should never be contorted "tordue", nor the lips be bitten, nor the shoulders be raised too frequently. Manual gesture concludes the discussion, an element which was

held to be the "principal instrument du Geste" (p.215). Although Le Faucheur acknowledges that an enormous number of movements may be made with the hands and arms, he does not attempt, as Quintilian and Wepý had done, to describe precise manual gestures. The rules provided in *Traité de l'action* are concerned with management of manual gesture rather than with a code of hand positions. This approach is significant for it dispels the belief (see Introduction, note 13, p.18) that there was a gestural vocabulary with which seventeenth-century orators and their audiences were acquainted through rhetoric and which could be formally applied for precise ends. There is little doubt that both orator and audience were more aware of gesture than is the case in public speaking today. However this awareness would seem to have attached itself more to the graceful and fitting association of manual gesture with the words and cadences of the speech than to precise significations revealed through hand positions. Emotion might be shown in the face and prescriptive rules were given for this purpose as we have seen. Emotion might also be shown with the hands but the rules which Le Faucheur gives for the hands offer no descriptions of hand positions or movements appropriate to the passions. Although Wepý's

Bary's and Lang's advice on precise manual gestures have shown that there was an attempt to establish in theory a vocabulary of manual gesture for the orator, and that certain basic principles were accepted and common to instruction in this aspect, Le Faucheur and his followers suggest that within the Classical aesthetic the aim was to make gesture appear naturally produced by feeling. As a result details of particular manual gestures are reduced in favour of more general remarks on the way a speaker should use his arms and hands with grace and enhance the expressive cadence and content of the lines. Despite what Bary's *Methode* might suggest, Classical French declamation did not contain as part of its standard advice a code or sign-language of manual gesture. Individual teachers, such as Bary was, might have developed their own ideas and principles on the subject but these were not inherent to French theories of *pronuntiatio*. Although Le Faucheur drew freely upon Quintilian, he did not consider Quintilian's precise descriptions of manual gesture to be helpful in the art of French oratorical delivery.

Le Faucheur's principle for the guidance of manual gesture is that it should follow the tempo and cadence of the speech itself. Thus unless the speech be begun vehemently for some reason, manual gesture in the exordium should be avoided. As the speech became more impassioned and more highly-figured so the arms and hands would play an increasingly important rôle.

On this principle it was in "les grands mouvemens" that "le Geste des mains est particulièrement nécessaire pour répondre à l'ardeur des Figures que l'on emploie" (p.221). On the general management of the arms and hands Le Faucheur remains faithful to standard principles: the left hand should only accompany the right and should never be raised as high as the right. The movement of the hands was to begin with the words and move from left to right, ending on the right with the words spoken. Manual gesture therefore had an accompanying function, secondary to and dependent upon the style and rhythms of the words themselves. The range of oratorical gesture was to be limited to "un demy-pied du tronc de vostre corps" on either side and below the eyes as far as elevation was concerned (pp.221-3). As in classical ballet the eyes were to follow the direction of the hands, except when expressing horror or aversion (p.222-3). The influence of this standard doctrine on acting theory and practice will be revealed in the writings of chapter three. It is however worth recalling in this context the attitude of Diderot to this principle as applied to acting. "O le maudit, le maussade jeu", he wrote to Mme Riccoboni in 1758, "que celui qui défend d'élever les mains à une certaine hauteur, qui fixe la distance à laquelle un bras peut s'écarter du corps, et qui détermine comme au quart de cercle, de combien il est convenable de s'incliner"⁸⁵. By the mid-eighteenth century reaction to and rejection of the aesthetics of rhetoric were as strong in acting as in the art of composition.

Le Faucheur offered but the most fundamental indications of manual gestures appropriate to particular circumstances. The right hand might be applied gently to the chest when the orator wished to designate himself or his "coeur...ame... conscience" (p.219). To suggest attraction the hand would be moved towards oneself, repellent ideas being emphasised by thrusting the hands away from oneself (see plates 28, 33-38). Finally the hand might be raised when taking an oath or in exclamation (see plates 23-28). Beyond these basic rules Le Faucheur is silent, presumably because he wished to avoid leading the orator towards that traditionally faulty style of gesture in oratorical delivery, mime. Thus he warns the speaker that such actions as pretending to fence, to draw a bow, to shoot a gun, to play an instrument etc should be rigidly excluded from the orator's technique (pp.224-5). Such mimicry was incompatible with the dignified status and *bienséance* of the speaker, as were those other gestures of beating head, brow, chest or thigh which would appear to have been acceptable to certain classical authorities.

Traité de l'action draws to a close with a few remarks

on the importance of practice in acquiring proficiency in oratorical delivery. The rules which Le Faucheur had provided in his treatise he saw as being an invaluable tool for the man hoping to become a good speaker. As he explained, he believed firmly in the classical principle that any art has to be first studied in its general rules, then practised assiduously until the rules had become natural: "ce que j'entens que fasse un homme qui se propose de faire ce métier de parler en public, c'est qu'avant que de s'y mettre, il apprenne ces préceptes de l'Action, qu'il essaye en son particulier de les pratiquer, et qu'il s'y adonne avecque soin jusqu'à ce que par un continuël exercice il s'en soit formé une bonne habitude" (pp.236-7). To complete the process that other tenet of classical doctrine, imitation of good models, might be employed: "il doit estre soigneux, quand il entend ou quelques fameux Advocats, ou quelques grands Prédicateurs, d'observer attentivement ce qu'ils ont en leur Action de conforme aux règles, et qui leur a fait mériter l'applaudissement de leurs Auditeurs, et s'efforcer en suite de les imiter" (pp. 241-2). To conclude so detailed a treatment of what was after all but one aspect of the orator's task, Le Faucheur leaves the aspirant barrister or preacher with a consoling thought. The orator, he explains, need not be as perfect in his action as

the professional actor must be, since the orator's audience is more interested in matter than in beauty and grace of presentation. The audience do not expect "la mesme exactitude et les mesmes soins d'un Orateur que d'un Acteur, parce que quand ils écoutent un Acteur au Théâtre, ils n'attachent pas leur esprit aux choses qu'il y représente, lesquelles ils savent estre fausses et fabuleuses, mais seulement à la belle manière de les représenter, c'est à dire ou à l'élégance de l'élocution, ou à la grace de la Prononciation et du Geste" (p.235).

Here again, as in the references to Roscius, Aesopus, Neoptolemus and Polus, the classical attitude to serious, professional actors as masters of the art of *pronuntiatio* and worthy teachers and models for the orator is adopted. Le Faucheur correlates the refined actor's business and acting techniques with the principles of *pronuntiatio*, as Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian had done. Moreover his attitude to actors, as revealed in the above passage, is not the scornful one which might be expected of a protestant preacher. Rather it suggests recognition of the actor as a model for the orator, a superior and worthy practitioner of the art of *pronuntiatio*.

It may be of interest at this stage to indicate to what extent Le Faucheur's attitude to the actor was shared by

his contemporaries and followers.

Wepy it will be remembered had suggested that the superior talent of the actor lay in his skill in gestural expression rather than vocal management, an opinion shared by Richesource in his *Eloquence de la Chaire* (1665). However, where Wepy had suggested that the orator might study the actor's gesture as Cicero had done, Richesource warns the preacher of the "excez" which may be practised by actors and which should be avoided by the preacher. However he acknowledges that, in general, the actor's gestural expression is more varied and "estudié" than that of the preacher (p.181). Rapin, in his *Réflexions sur l'usage de l'éloquence de ce temps* (1671), also tends to identify acting skill with physical expression rather than vocal quality, drawing attention to "ces expressions passionnées que la prononciation inspire aux yeux et au visage" in actors (p.19). He further laments that "la prononciation qui est une des plus importantes parties de l'Eloquence" should have been so neglected by the orator when in the theatre its effects are so clearly known and appreciated: "sa vertu est si grande, que de faire impression sur les esprits, mesme dans les sujets feints et supposez, comme elle fait sur le théâtre dans la Comédie" (p.17). However,

in line with the classical attitude, Rapin distinguished two types of acting, one which operated within a range similar to that of oratory, and another whose style transgressed the bounds of propriety by employing "gestes trop expressifs" and a "visage trop comédien" (p.125), techniques more clearly related to comic acting.

By 1658 writers on oratorical delivery had taken over the double standard expressed in classical rhetorical theory with regard to the actor. Provided he worked within a particular range and in a particular refined style, the actor might serve as a model for the speaker. The sort of acting which went beyond this range and employed more popular traditions such as mime, mimicry and bodily distortion/contortion was beyond the aesthetic of *pronuntiatio*, unworthy of the serious man's attention or consideration. M. Langlois, advising his sons on the best way of acquiring skill in preaching and pleading, suggested therefore that the best actors might serve as models "il ne faut pas négliger...le theatre pour entendre ceux qui excellent; j'ay appris...la prononciation du Theatre"⁸⁶. In 1674 Chappuzeau, in his *Théâtre françois* was similarly to reiterate the classical motif, suggesting that preachers might learn from actors "et en public, et en particulier", how to acquire "un beau ton de voix et...un beau geste"⁸⁷. Similarly Colomès in his rhetoric of 1699 was to suggest that the *honnête homme* should "aller quelquefois aux Spectacles, lorsqu'il y a dans un Troupe quelque bon

Acteur" on whom he might model his style of delivery⁸⁸. Traditional prejudice against the acting profession was transmuted as part of the process of Classicism into antipathy to a certain lower style of acting such as that practised by the "Bouffons, Bâteleurs, Farceurs", while a more refined style of drama and dramatic performance was accepted as being a suitably dignified model for the orator. Molière's mingling of the two styles was inevitably to receive a mixed response.

Le Faucheur's treatise on the art of delivery would undoubtedly have found interested readers among the new-style refined French actors of the mid- to late-seventeenth century. Anxious to establish themselves as artists and as acceptable, educated members of society, these actors would have found in Le Faucheur's treatise the sort of artistic theory which their profession lacked. Floridor, on the authority of Rollin⁸⁹, would appear to have written a treatise on delivery along the lines established by Le Faucheur, and further evidence of the extent to which the acting profession identified with and accepted *pronuntiatio* as part of their art, if not the entire art itself, is provided by the writings on acting and delivery which will be presented in chapter three. Central to this identification must have been Le Faucheur's popularization and updating of classical theory.

Traité de l'action was to be the major source-book on oratorical delivery for those writing on *pronuntiatio* in the later seventeenth century. Grimarest was to acknowledge familiarity with Le Faucheur's text in his *Traité du Récitatif* (1707) and, although he criticized it for being out of date, the principles Grimarest gave overlap considerably with those of Le Faucheur and share a similar approach to the subject. A more direct influence on the development of *pronuntiatio* may be seen in the greater interest in this part of rhetoric shown by writers of general rhetorical theory in the period 1657-1699. As early as 1658 the advocate Langlois included advice on delivery in his study of rhetoric; Du Roure's *La Rhétorique Française* (1662) also treated this aspect of rhetoric along lines similar to those of Le Faucheur. Richesource in his *L'Eloquence de la Chaîne* of 1665, Le Gras in his *Réthorique* (sic) *françoise* (1671), Du Port in his *Art de prêcher* (1674), Bary in his *Méthode pour bien prononcer un discours* (1679), Bretteville in his *Eloquence de la chaîne et du barreau* (1689), Leven de Templeri in his *Rhétorique Française* (1698) and Colomiès

in his *Rhétorique de l'Honnête homme* (1699) were all to devote serious attention to the formerly neglected fifth part of rhetoric and were all, with the exception of Bary, to follow in their advice the pattern and principles established by Le Faucheur. Moreover, in addition to such direct influence, *Traité de l'action* would appear to have made French speakers and their audiences more critically aware of style of delivery. Alongside the theoretical advice of French rhetorics of the later seventeenth century were to appear works criticizing preachers and their manner of preaching, such as La Bruyère's *Caractères* (1688), Sanlecque's *L'Art de prêcher, ou du geste* (1693), and Claude Boyer's *Les Caractères des prédicateurs* (1695). Although these works did not provide additional advice on the art of delivery, by highlighting certain common faults they were able to suggest an ideal and substantiate the importance of *pronuntiatio*. It would appear that it was during this same period, and most probably as a result of Le Faucheur's treatise, that teaching of principles of delivery in the colleges and seminaries gained depth. Where the rhetorical manual of the early part of the century, Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*, had provided the pupils of the Jesuits with no more than a few basic precepts on the subject of

delivery, in 1675 the Jesuit master of rhetoric Jean Lucas wrote a long poem dealing exclusively with *Actio oratoris seu de gestu et voce*. Although Lucas's elegant verses were not intended to be a manual for formal study, they provide a valuable indication of the new interest in delivery. Presumably the classical principles of *pronuntiatio* which Lucas presented in his poem had also played an important rôle in Lucas's own teaching of rhetoric in Paris between 1671 and 1677⁹⁰, and had been practised by his pupils in the declamations and plays which formed so important a part of Jesuit pedagogy. However, interest in delivery and the use of drama as a means of applying principles of *pronuntiatio* was not restricted to the Jesuits. The Jansenist Coustel justified school drama in 1694 by explaining that it helped pupils to acquire "une louable hardiesse de paroistre et de parler en public avec grace et bienséance"⁹¹, and Rollin who had taught rhetoric at the Université de Paris, was to show as much interest in delivery as had Lucas when he outlined the art of rhetoric in his *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres* (1726-8). Le Faucheur's *Traité de l'action* thus opened a period of interest in, and serious study of the art of *pronuntiatio*, and being the only available text in French to treat the subject in detail, Le Faucheur's

treatise was to become the authoritative source.

Study of French writings on delivery between 1657 and 1726 reveals the enormous debt owed, and generally unacknowledged to Le Faucheur. It will be unnecessary to examine these writings in any detail since they reiterate the principles and approach of Le Faucheur, establishing his treatment as standard. Elements of the overlap will be immediately perceptible in the charts of appendix III. Texts on oratorical delivery after 1658 fall into two broad categories. Firstly there are those which follow Le Faucheur and extend the classical approach to French oratory, offering prescriptive advice and advocating a form of preparation based upon study, imitation and diligent practice. From the 1670s however a second type of advice emerges in which precepts are reduced to a minimum and new emphasis is placed upon simple expression of personally-held, sincere, convictions. Gaichies's stress on "une vehemence interieure, qui nait de l'impression que fait le sujet sur l'ame de l'Orateur"⁹² epitomizes the approach of these writers to oratorical delivery, carrying the anti-rhetoric reaction of the period 1670-1730 into the sphere of *pronuntiatio* as well as *inventio*. Pascal's anti-rhetoric stance, his demand for "une rhétorique (un "art de persuader") mentaliste, sensible, comme par instinct, à la complexité des choses", was representative of the new aesthetic which suggested that a new approach be adopted in which one

should attempt to "prendre conscience de la pensée qui naît en nous, de façon à pouvoir reproduire ce mouvement lorsque nous parlons à l'autre, l'entraînant ainsi dans cette vérité, comme si lui-même, de lui-même, la découvrirait"⁹³.

The anti-rhetoric school, which was to gain strength as a result of the Goibaud-Dubois debate of the 1690s described later in this chapter, had strong repercussions on *pronuntiatio*. Those who rejected the prescriptive approach and strongly analytical flavour of Le Faucheur and his followers, inevitably tended to focus upon personal sensibility and feeling for one's subject as a source of effective tonal and gestural expression. The speaker was to be encouraged to identify with his subject and to express his feelings naturally, that is without reference to an authoritative, classically-based analysis of emotion and its appropriate expression in art. Study of detailed principles was to be abandoned in favour of more general advice on management of the voice and gesture, and emphasis was to be placed upon what was variously termed, "le zèle ardent"⁹⁴, "la conviction intérieure"⁹⁵ or "le cœur touché"⁹⁶. In the process artistic expression was to release itself from the restrictions of the élitist code of behaviour, *bienséance*, and of a particular classification and characterization of emotion. The model to be followed henceforth was to be based upon empirical rather than traditional evidence, as Fénelon was to explain: "pour bien peindre, il faut imiter la nature, et voir ce qu'elle fait quand on la laisse faire et

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que l'art ne la contrainst pas" . The advice of Le Faucheur and his followers on expression of emotion was to be neglected as orators were advised to consult their personal experience. Fleury's general advice on the expression of the passions in preaching was to be extended to the aesthetics of delivery, and in particular of stage delivery during the eighteenth century, fostering a new naturalism in public speaking and acting. In his *Dernier discours sur la predication* (1688), Fleury anticipated the attitude of the eighteenth century in suggesting that although study of the passions through Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and through eloquent passages in oratory and poetry might be useful, "ce qui serviroit le plus, seroit de bien observer les hommes, pour étudier leurs passions sur le naturel" (p.16). In such a climate of opinion the structured approach to emotional expression of Le Faucheur and his followers could not but lose favour and give way to a new approach to delivery.

The remainder of this chapter will be dedicated to examination of the one writer whose prescriptive advice on delivery did not follow Le Faucheur's model, and to tracing the development away from prescriptive advice towards emphasis on personal involvement.

BARY AND THE METHODE POUR BIEN PRONONCER UN DISCOURS (1679)

Le Faucheur's influence on the treatment of delivery was so strong that only one writer, René Bary proposed an alternative⁹⁸.

Although Bary shared Le Faucheur's principle that voice and gesture should be varied according to certain elements, the passions, the figures and the parts of the speech, his treatment and classifications differ entirely from those of Le Faucheur and his followers. Bary's *Methode* is idiosyncratic in its uniquely detailed descriptions of precise movements appropriate to passions, figures and subjects which are themselves termed in a manner which further sets them outside traditional, established categories. However, like Le Faucheur, Bary clearly held the belief that the art of delivery was to be acquired by study and practice of the rules and could not be left to natural talent and experience alone. Where Bary differed from his predecessors was that he would appear to have sought these rules not in traditional classical sources, but in his own experience of contemporary models. His principles of delivery exposed in the *Methode* were based upon the sort of instruction which he claimed to give "de vive voix" (Avant-propos), and as such they offer unique insight into the practice of seventeenth-century teachers of declamation. The tones, and more particularly the gestures and attitudes which Bary describes were based presumably to a large extent on contemporary techniques of preaching, in line with the principle that one should practice certain principles and imitate the best models in one's training as a speaker. As such these descriptions indicate the meticulous care taken at this period to make a speech as emotionally affective as possible. However it should be emphasized that, as knowledge of other

texts on delivery will show, Bary's *Methode* is idiosyncratic and unrepresentative of the common body of advice on oratorical delivery given during the seventeenth century. However it would appear to have enjoyed a certain popularity in the period 1679-1720, for Grimarest refers to *La Methode de bien prononcer un discours* alongside Le Faucheur's treatise as the major texts to treat the art of declamation before his own *Traité du Récitatif* (1707). According to Goujet, Bary's work went into several editions, the last being "à Leyde en 1708", but, like Gibert who in the *Jugemens des Savans les auteurs qui ont traité de la rhétorique* (Amst, 1725) had been scathing about Bary's text (VIII-2, p.282), Goujet was wary of recommending the *Methode*. Although he agreed that "on ne peut pousser l'exactitude plus loin" than had Bary in his advice on delivery, he doubted that "un homme qui observeroit exactement tous les préceptes de cet Auteur, seroit un excellent orateur". Rather, "on y verroit, sans doute, trop d'art et d'affectation" (*Bibliothèque françoise*, 1740-56, vol. II, p.252). While acknowledged to be one of the few texts to deal with delivery in isolation therefore, Bary's *Methode* did not receive the acclaim, nor have the influence which Le Faucheur's treatise enjoyed. When examining Bary's advice it is as well to bear these factors in mind and not draw from the *Methode* conclusions which belie historical circumstances. Study of the *Methode*

alongside other writings on delivery of the same period reveals quite clearly that Bary's rules were not those of "la rhétorique traditionnelle", as certain critics have tended to suggest⁹⁹.

The highly-systematized nature of the *Methode* and its comparative rarity as a text would seem to justify the inclusion of its precepts in appendix form. The reader is referred therefore to appendix I for full details of Bary's advice and the following examination will aim merely to highlight the extent to which Bary amplifies familiar concepts and introduces new elements.

Unlike Le Faucheur who saw himself as a reformer hoping to improve upon contemporary standards of delivery, Bary would seem to have recognized that his *Methode* exploited what had become a fashionable activity, "la Predication aujourd'hui fort en vogue" (Avant-propos). His aim was to describe the art which enabled the good preacher to "bien pousser un mouvement", in other words to persuade with suitable emotivity, and he advised the reader that he was able to offer instruction "de vive voix". Delivery is divided into its two traditional aspects, voice and gesture: "bien prononcer et bien animer un Discours", Bary explained to the reader,

"consiste à régler l'accent et le geste" (p.1). The qualities of the voice usually described are omitted by Bary who proceeds to follow Le Faucheur's scheme for the variation of the voice: "Le Prédicateur doit régler l'accent de sa voix selon les parties qui composent le Discours, selon les passions qui y regnent, et selon les figures qui l'embellissent" (p.2). As far as the divisions of the speech are concerned Bary adds little to the advice of his predecessors. The exordium will require "une voix mediocre" (p.3), the narration "une voix claire et distincte" (p.5), the confirmation will vary according to the subjects, "une voix hardie" being used for "expositions des raisons", "une voix haussée" for objections, and "une voix masle" for "les reponses" (p.6). Finally the peroration will require "une voix éclatante" appropriate to the vigorous figurative language used in this part of the speech (p.7).

Description of tones appropriate to different passions similarly follows the now-familiar body of advice but a less-dogmatic approach suggestive of the nuances of emotional expression is adopted. Thus where Le Faucheur had described the voice appropriate to expression of love as "une voix douce, gaye, attrayante", Bary suggests that the passion may cause various effects from admiration to pain and therefore may be shown in the speech "tantost par une voix flateuse, tantost par une voix gaye, et tantost par une voix plaintive" (p.8). A

similar attempt to indicate the varied manifestations of a single emotion is apparent in the descriptions of *haine, désir, fuite, compassion* and *colère*. Undoubtedly the fact that eight years previously Bary had published a work on *La Morale* influenced his treatment of emotional expression. For in *La Morale* love is described as having five effects: "extase", "zele", "liquefaction", "langueur" and "ferveur", and it would seem that in the three types of voice which Bary attributes to love in the *Methode* there is an attempt to recognize some of these effects. Similarly *La Morale* had made mention of certain "passions dérivées": "jalousie", "honte", "pitié", "émulation", "indignation" and "envie", whose characteristic tones, with the exception of "honte", are presented in the *Methode*. Le Faucheur had given tones for "compassion", "estime" and "mépris" but had not included "jalousie" or "envie" in his treatment. Thus the range of emotive delivery is enriched by Bary's suggestions of "la voix tremblante" of "envie" and "la voix hardie" of "jalousie" (pp.26-7). Moreover Bary follows the traditional philosophical classification of emotion more strictly than Le Faucheur had done and provides advice on "espoir" and "desespoir", "desir" and "fuite", passions absent from *Traité de l'action*. Thus we learn that "l'Espérance s'exprime par une voix hautaine et éclatante", while "le Desespoir" will be best delivered

"d'un ton exclamatif, aigu et précipité" (pp.20-1). The tones of "Desir" and "Fuite", involving other emotions would be determined by their source; when desire is violent and provoked by love therefore it will be expressed "par un ton tendre, et neantmoins pressant" (p.13). Whereas violent desire provoked by "resistance" will require "un ton de dépit et de colère" (p.13). These examples illustrate the extent to which Bary was prepared to analyse emotion and its expression more deeply than Le Faucheur and a comparison of the relative advice of these two authors on expression of compassion highlights this difference of approach.

Le Faucheur had advised simply "une voix fort radoucie et fort plaintive" (p.116) to express compassion; Bary however was to claim that "la Compassion a en divers temps trois voix fort différentes" (p.33). The first of these is "la voix triste" appropriate to the "premiers aspects de la misère"; the second "la voix aiguë lors que curieuse de sçavoir d'où viennent les maux qui tombent sous sa veüe, elle apprend qu'ils viennent d'une haute injustice"; and finally "la voix douce, lors, comme dit un Ancien, que passant du coeur aux mains, elle ne donne pas moins des marques de sa puissance que de sa tendresse" (p.33). Despite this more detailed approach to vocal expression of emotion, Bary was to be followed by only one other writer before 1750 in his advice on tone. Grimarest

in his *Traité du récitatif* (1707) is alone among later writers on delivery to describe, as Bary had done, three types of voice appropriate to expression of love, the "voix flateuse et tendre", the "voix gaie" and the "tons pressans et plaintifs"¹⁰⁰.

As far as the figures are concerned Bary stays closer to Le Faucheur, providing details of the tones appropriate to *interrogation*, *apostrophe*, *prosopopée*, *antithèse*, *prevention*, *jurement*, *subjection*, *epizeuxis* and *gradation*. Omitted from his list therefore are *exclamation*, *dialogisme*, *epimone*, *reticence*, *anadiplose* and *anaphore*, while *prevention* and *interrogation* are added to Le Faucheur's classification. These differences are of little significance however since the figures omitted overlap to some extent with those described by Bary, *exclamation* coming close to *apostrophe*, *dialogisme* to *prosopopée*. With the exception of those figures not mentioned in *Traité de l'action* therefore Bary follows Le Faucheur's advice on tonal variation, as the chart in appendix III shows. The only major new advice given in this context thus concerns the figures, *prevention* and *interrogation*. *Prevention* is defined by Bary as being to "prevenir les objections et ...les resoudre", requiring that one "doit plus hausser sa voix quand elle resout, que quand

elle previent" (p.61). While for questions there would be three appropriate tones depending on the question. Thus the "aimable" question would be delivered in "un accent... doux", the "injurieuse" in "un accent fier" and "l'ostentative" in "un accent élevé" (pp.41-2).

The most original aspect of Bary's treatment of delivery lies in his classification and description of gesture. Breaking completely with the traditional presentation of precepts for management of the head, face, eyes, brows, arms and hands, Bary follows a method similar to that used in treatment of vocal expression and suggests body movements appropriate to certain figures, subjects and passions. Bary's intention was clearly to supplement what he considered lacking in Le Faucheur's treatment of gesture, for he explains that the author of *Action de l'Orateur* "n'a pas considéré le geste en vue des matières; et c'est en cette vue, c'est à dire, icy en vue des divers sujets de mouvement, qu'il falloit le considérer" (p.73). Twenty different gestures are thus distinguished and named by Bary as *Interrogation, Franchise, Tendresse, Regne, Pousse-à-bout, Abattement ou consternation, Triomphe, Etonnement, Ironie, Confusion, Fondamental, Resolu, Notable, Recit, Doctrinal, Plainte, Exageration, Horrible, Colère* and *Reproche*. Full

details of Bary's descriptions of these gestures are given in appendix I' and photographs which attempt to reconstruct certain of these gestures have been included in plates alongside similar gestures to be found in contemporary engravings or paintings.¹⁰¹ The aim of such iconographical comparison has been to highlight the extent to which certain of Bary's descriptions conformed to the gestural vocabulary used by visual artists of his day to express similar concepts. The illustrations have been specifically chosen in the majority of cases for their relevance to the theatre, but it should be pointed out that no claim of direct influence is being made here. Bary's *Method* is not the key to gestural vocabulary in seventeenth or eighteenth-century painting, but it does appear to correspond to elements of that vocabulary. Given that the theory of seventeenth-century painting drew on Cicero and Quintilian¹⁰² just as did the writers on *pronuntiatio*, such parallelism is not so surprising. The reader is referred to these plates and the appendices for detailed evidence of Bary's advice and the following examination will attempt to isolate from this material the traditional and the novel elements.

Certain aspects of the overlap between traditional theory and Bary's advice on gesture have been distinguished in discussion of Wepy's text. The gestures to be used in expression of tenderness, of misery, of triumph, of irony and in instruction were seen to have taken up elements of Wepy's descriptions and to have reworked them into a new classification of gesture. For certain other gestures Bary would appear to have taken account of more modern theories of expression however, synthesising descriptions of the effects of the passions with knowledge of oratorical technique. Thus for example it is suggested that in anger "on élève horriblement les paupières, et ...on avance mesme la lèvre inferieure" (p.104), while in reproach the body "un peu courbé parcourt frequamment (sic) la chaire", the brow is "plissé" and the head is "branlante" (p.106). The idiosyncratic nature of Bary's advice is made apparent by this particular suggestion which goes against certain canons of the standard rules governing oratorical decorum. For Du Port in his *L'Art de prêcher* (Paris, 1674) had expressly warned against wrinkling the brow, "son front doit estre sans ride" (p.267), while Le Faucheur had explicitly advised that the head should not be allowed to "branler" (p.199). The style of oratorical delivery suggested by Bary's advice was clearly one which aimed to exploit the emotional potential of the text to the full, but which may have operated outside the commonly accepted aesthetic of preaching of the period.

As Goujet was to suggest in his review of works on delivery¹⁰³, the orator who followed Bary's advice would not necessarily be a good preacher: "je ne sçai si un homme qui observeroit exactement tous les préceptes de cet Auteur, seroit un excellent Orateur. On y verroit, sans doute, trop d'art et d'affectation". It is significant moreover that while Bary was alone in giving such detailed descriptions of movements and gestures, he was also alone amongst seventeenth-century writers on delivery to exclude standard general advice on gesture and tone from his treatment. The traditional warnings against raising the hand above eye-level or speaking with a provincial accent are absent from his treatment. More than any other writer of his period therefore Bary would appear to have been concerned above all with expressionism and emotional appeal, the question of decorum and propriety not being allowed to restrict the preacher in this aim. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that both in his treatment and his approach to the theory of delivery, Bary was unrepresentative of the aesthetic of his period.

To conclude his treatment Bary discussed the emphases which individual words should be given and underlined the importance of correct sounding of final syllables. This advice is also reproduced in appendix I. In contrast to the advice of Le Faucheur on individual words, Bary's treatment reveals a

strong concern for purely emotive effect. Where Le Faucheur had suggested that the sense of certain words be stressed by appropriate delivery, Bary emphasizes those speech-elements most strictly concerned with feeling rather than sense: exclamatory words. He explained therefore how an "ô" should be pronounced in a "voix haute", how there are three sorts of "hé" and "ha", each requiring a different delivery according to the context. Thus for example the "hé" of "étonnement" will be delivered in "une voix haute et traînante" (p.121), while the "ha" of admiration will need "une voix purement éclatante" (p.124). The conscious ornamentation and deliberate attempt to exploit the text for its emotional content which this advice implies is indicative of the difference between "la prononciation courante, familière, naturelle" and "la prononciation soutenue, autrement dit déclamée"¹⁰⁴ which characterized French pronunciation throughout the seventeenth century. As J. Hindret's advice in his *Art de bien prononcer et de bien parler* (Paris, 1687) suggests, the difference between "le discours familier" and "le discours soutenu" was not simply a question of written style. There was also a corresponding style of delivery appropriate to "le discours soutenu", a style in which particular care was given to the flow of the speech and to the voicing of certain sounds at the ends of words¹⁰⁵. Bary's advice offers further evidence of this process in his suggestion that the *z* of an imperative be emphasized, that words ending in a double *e*, such as *armée* or *aimée* should have the stress fall on the double *e*, while words ending in *-ons* or *-ens*

should be similarly stressed because "les & finissantes et précédées d'une o ou d'une n, bruyent agreablement les oreilles" (pp.126-7). Similar principles applied in the mechanics of pronunciation in singing at this period, as Bacilly's *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1668) makes clear.

Bary's *Methode* offers valuable insight into the type of instruction which might have been given privately to pupils of declamation in the late-seventeenth century. From Bary's descriptions and advice it is clear that oratorical delivery was seen to be a matter requiring study and practice of particular rules and patterns of expression. The emphasis was upon exploitation of the emotive potential of the text, consideration being taken of content, style, word-patterns and sounds. However although Bary was evidently familiar with traditional theories of *pronuntiatio*, his method draws only incidentally upon standard advice and, in this respect it is atypical of seventeenth-century French writings on the subject. The *Methode* may indicate something of the style of seventeenth-century preaching and in this application it is invaluable. However it should not be cited as evidence of standard theory on delivery of this period, more representative texts such as those of Le Faucheur, Du Port, Le Gras and Bretteville being more suited to this purpose.

The idiosyncrasy of Bary's advice on delivery is made apparent by study of writings on the subject after 1679. Leaving aside those who dismissed prescriptive treatment, and concentrating on those who shared Le Faucheur's faith in the value of rules for delivery, it becomes clear that Bary had no significant influence on writers on the subject before Grimarest. Bretteville's posthumous study of rhetoric *Eloquence de la chaire et du barreau* (Paris, 1689) was to follow Le Faucheur 'almost to the letter, and to an extent greater even than that of Richesource, Le Gras and Du Port. Colomiès, in his *Rhétorique de l'honnête homme* (Amsterdam, 1699) was to rely upon Le Faucheur's authority in his section on delivery, acknowledging his debt by directly reproducing the pages of *Traité de l'action* concerned with vocal variation. Finally Rollin's treatment of "la Prononciation" in his *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres* (1726-8), was to remain faithful to the spirit of traditional classical theory and shows no evidence of Bary's method. To conclude this survey of writings representative of the French Classical art of delivery it will not be necessary to repeat what are now familiar precepts. The extent of the overlap may best be gauged from the charts in appendix III which plot the advice of Le Faucheur and his successors alongside elements of classical advice. However before turning to examine those writings which indicate

dissatisfaction with and rejection of the prescriptive approach to delivery, it will be useful to include Rollin's uniquely-detailed description of the principle guiding the movement of the arms in oratorical delivery. For, as a comparison with F. Riccoboni's advice on management of the arms in acting reveals, this principle was to be shared by the acting profession well into the eighteenth century. To bring out the similarity between these two pieces of advice, the two relevant passages have been quoted in full. Firstly then Rollin, who advised:

Dans le geste périodique et ordinaire, on doit porter la main droite de gauche à droite en commençant devant soi, et finissant à côté, les doigts de la main étant un peu élevés au-dessus du poignet, ouverts et en liberté, étendant le bras de toute sa longueur, sans lever le coude aussi haut que l'épaule, mais le tenant toujours détaché et éloigné du corps, et observant que c'est par le mouvement du coude que doit ordinairement commencer le geste. Après cela on porte la main gauche de droit à gauche, avec les mêmes proportions qu'on aura gardées pour la main droite. Il faut suspendre et soutenir le bras après chaque geste à côté de soi, jusqu'à ce que la période finisse: et lorsqu'elle est finie, les deux mains doivent tomber négligemment sur la chaire, si c'est là qu'on parle...ou tout de leur long sur la personne¹⁰⁶

F. Riccoboni was to highlight similar elements: the gracefully-curved arm, hand and fingers, and the conscious fluidity of the movement of the arms, in his *Art du Théâtre* (1750), a work addressed to the actor rather than the orator:

On ne parvient à la grâce des bras qu'avec beaucoup d'étude; et quelques bonnes qui puissent être nos dispositions naturelles, le point de la perfection dépend beaucoup de l'art...On doit...faire attention

à ne jamais tenir les bras trop roides, et à faire toujours sentir le pli du coude et du poignet. Les doigts ne doivent point être absolument étendus, il faut les arrondir avec douceur, et observer entr'eux la gradation naturelle...Lorsqu'on veut en élever un des bras, il faut que la partie supérieure, c'est-à-dire, celle qui prend de l'épaule au coude, se détache du corps la première, et qu'elle entraîne les deux autres qui ne doivent prendre force pour se mouvoir que successivement, et sans trop de précipitation. La main ne doit donc agir que la dernière. Elle doit être tournée en bas jusqu'à ce que l'avant-bras l'ait portée à la hauteur du coude; alors elle se tourne en haut tandis que le bras continue son mouvement pour s'élever jusqu'au point où il doit s'arrêter. Si tout cela se fait sans effort, l'action est parfaitement agréable. Pour redescendre, la main doit tomber la première, et les autres parties du bras la suivre dans leur ordre¹⁰⁷.

Comparison of the two texts reveals that in both oratorical gesture and stage-acting the movement of the arms and hands was governed by similar principles designed to suggest grace and flow.

Before examining the anti-rhetoric, anti-prescriptive trend in advice on delivery which was to occur towards the end of the century and into the eighteenth, it may be useful to synthesize the findings of this chapter so far. We have witnessed the development in seventeenth-century France of new interest and serious discussion of the business of delivery. This interest was expressed in the form of a return to classical sources and, in particular of a return to the advice on Cicero and Quintilian

on oratorical delivery. In the first half of the century vernacular advice on delivery was sparse and, being primarily concerned with preaching or pleading, followed the specialized precepts for specifically oratorical delivery given by Cicero and Quintilian. By the second half of the century however the classical art of *pronuntiatio* had moved away from its purely oratorical reference and been merged with contemporary theories of *lienséance* to assume a place and application in polite society. La Mothe le Vayer's advice on "prononciation" in his *Rhétorique du Prince* (1651) had been provided to complete the education of the cultured man, to equip him in voice and gesture with those tools of expression necessary for his function in society, complementing and completing knowledge of the tools of verbal communication contained in *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio*. The art of rhetoric in all its parts had been absorbed and accepted by the élite as an integral part of their education, as the corner-stone of their culture, as the code which would distinguish them from popular behaviour and culture, from the uninitiated. This harnessing of rhetoric to a particular social group had important repercussions of the art of rhetoric itself. As far as delivery was concerned the influence of the French élite manifested itself in the proportionally greater emphasis placed upon bodily grace and expression of feeling through upper facial expression.

Significantly absent from the advice of Le Faucheur and his followers are those details of precise manual gestures found in Wepy, Bulwer and Lang. The speaker is instead encouraged to concentrate on vocal expression of feeling combined with appropriate facial, and in particular, ocular expression, posture and management of the arms and hands being determined more by the idea of grace and harmony than by an explicit gestural code. On the evidence of these writers the French speaker of the second part of the seventeenth century was familiar with the characteristic tones appropriate to subjects, parts, figures and passions, with the ways the face and eyes show feeling and with general rules of deportment applicable in public-speaking. There is no evidence to suggest that he considered Quintilian's descriptions of precise manual gestures to be relevant. Nor, with the exception of Bary's *Methode*, is there any evidence of an alternative "code" of gesture forming part of the common training of a speaker. Bary's work is an extremely interesting and valuable record of the way one *maître de déclamation* taught his pupils. However, as we have seen, the precise descriptions of attitudes and gestures which Bary provides would appear to have been based upon his own experience of contemporary preaching rather than forming part of a standard corpus

of advice. The major characteristic of what may be termed the French Classical arts of delivery, lies not in their strict fidelity to the pattern of advice provided by Cicero and Quintilian so much as in their acceptance of the classical belief in the value of study and practice of prescriptive advice. It was rejection of this attitude which was to determine the fate of writings on delivery in early eighteenth-century France, and the remainder of this chapter will trace the first signs of this reaction in writings concerned with oratorical delivery. The story will be taken up again in chapter three when we shall see a similar movement away from the Classical aesthetic in writings by and for actors.

Central to the new approach to delivery at the end of the seventeenth century were revised attitudes to the imagination and its role in rhetoric and oratory. As Alexis François has explained, "la rhétorique classique admet un style figuré. La rhétorique naturiste (sic) va plus loin, et, interprétant le style figuré, restaure l'imagination dans ses droits sur le style"¹⁰⁸.

In the Classical aesthetic of Le Faucheur and his followers the imagination had been strictly subordinated to and

controlled by reason and will. The imagination might be called upon to give added force to the orator's portrayal of feeling, but it was in no way sufficient in itself as a source of artistic creation. Knowledge, study and practice of the tones and gestures of emotional expression were an essential prerequisite to the contribution of the imaginative faculty. This attitude was to undergo significant modification towards the end of the seventeenth century, largely as a result of the debate provoked by Gaubaud-Dubois's *Avertissement* to his edition of *Les Sermons de S. Augustin sur le Nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1694. Dubois attacked rhetoric precisely because its rules and principles were directed at an appeal to the imagination rather than to intelligence and reason. For Dubois then, rejection of deliberate pathetic appeal was also a rejection of prescriptive rhetoric. "La vraie Eloquence" according to Dubois was "celle qui se trouve necessairement dans tout homme de bon Esprit, qui sçait bien parler; et qui est bien plein et bien penetré de sa matière...pour remplir tous les devoirs de l'Eloquence, il ne faut qu'une intelligence éclairée et un coeur touché" (*Avertissement*, pp.xxxix-xlv). F. Lamy in his *De la connoissance de soi-mesme*, Paris, 1694-1698, was to adopt a similar position to that of Dubois, attacking traditional rhetorical principles on the grounds that they were a means of artificially winning support through

the senses rather than the reason. Rhetorical techniques of direct emotive appeal, such as cadenced delivery, should have their source in the orator's genuine inner conviction and not be a conscious element of his "art". According to Lamy, true eloquence "croit indigne d'elle de s'assujettir basement à la mesure des cadences, à l'arrondissement des périodes" (*De la connoissance de soi-même*, V, p.453). However for Lamy appeal to the passions and the imagination was not excluded from true eloquence; but whereas in "false" eloquence it had been the result of skillful technique, in true eloquence it was to result naturally from the speaker's rational arguments. This was explained by Lamy in his reply to criticism of *De la connoissance de soi-mesme* published in *Réflexions sur l'Eloquence* (Paris, 1700): "il me paroît qu'émouvoir les passions, est quelque chose de commun à la vraye et à la fausse Rhetorique; et la difference que j'y trouve, est que la vraye ne remuë les passions qu'après avoir éclairé l'esprit; au lieu que la fausse, sans se mettre en peine de l'éclairer, ne tend qu'à le convaincre à force de passionner et d'étourdir" (p.30). The debate continued as Brulard de Sillery and Arnauld refuted Lamy and maintained that rhetoric must appeal to the emotions, that the imagination is not of itself dangerous, and that in certain circumstances "il est absolument nécessaire que l'Orateur ébranle l'imagination avant

que de convaincre l'esprit" (*Réflexions sur l'Eloquence*, p.87). As will be appreciated, the opposing parties of this end-of-century controversy were not as different in their attitudes as might have been supposed. The point at issue was not so much rational as opposed to emotive argument, but rejection of the belief that eloquence might be best produced by knowledge and study of artistic principles and techniques of expression.

Evidence of dissatisfaction with the Classical aesthetic of eloquence is to be found in the emphasis on inner conviction so characteristic of writings of the early eighteenth century. Blaise Gisbert in his *Bon Goût de l'eloquence chretienne* (Lyon, 1702) was to explain that "quand on est épris d'un zele ardent pour le salut de son prochain, qu'on veut sincerement le toucher, le convertir, les tours, les termes, les expressions viennent en foule, elles se présentent d'elles mêmes. Le coeur en fournit plus qu'il n'en faut, et de plus belles, de plus vives, de plus élégantes que toute l'étude et toute l'aplication possible n'en scauroit fournir" (p.73). Gisbert of course was thinking of the preacher, but in an anonymous collection entitled *Lettres sur les sciences et sur les arts* (Paris, 1704), Gisbert's attitude is extended and applied to eloquence in general. The first letter, *Sur la nature et l'usage de l'Eloquence*, strongly advised the reader, "remarquez bien

ceci: l'on ne persuade d'une conviction interieure et effective qu'autant que l'on est persuadé soi-même" (p.7). Gisbert was to reiterate the importance of true, sincere inspiration and "onction" in his *Eloquence chrétienne* of 1715 and Fénelon, in his *Lettre à l'Académie* (1714) and his *Dialogues sur l'Eloquence* (1718) was similarly to contrast artificial eloquence with sincere expression: "Il ne faut pas faire à l'eloquence le tort de penser qu'elle n'est qu'un art frivole, dont un déclamateur se sert pour imposer à la faible imagination de la multitude ...plus un déclamateur feroit d'efforts pour m'éblouir par les prestiges de son discours, plus je me révolterois contre sa vanité...Je cherche un homme sérieux, qui me parle pour moi, et non pour lui; qui veuille mon salut, et non sa vaine gloire"

It is interesting that at the same time as cadenced delivery on the tragic stage was being rejected as artificial and without appeal, Fénelon (like Lamy) criticized the traditional harmony of the rhetorical idiom: "l'harmonie qui ne va qu'à flatter l'oreille n'est qu'un amusement de gens faibles et oisifs" ¹⁰⁹.

Emphasis on personal conviction, on genuine identification with the sentiments expressed, and consequent rejection of precise, prescriptive rules and techniques of expression

marks the approach to delivery as much as to composition at this period. As early as 1675 Bernard Lamy had dismissed rules for delivery as inappropriate and unnecessary: "il y a sans doute de certains défauts, des postures indecentes, ridicules, affectées, basses, que l'on ne peut souffrir et des tons de voix qui blessent les oreilles et qui les fatiguent. Il n'est pas nécessaire que je les spécifie, on les remarque assez. Tous les sentimens ont chacun un ton de voix, un geste et une mine qui leur sont propres...Mais cette étude ne se fait que vainement dans les Livres" (*L'Art de parler*, -ed., Amst, 1699, p.366). The same Samuel Chappuzeau who had written *Le Théâtre François* (Lyon, 1674), in 1676 wrote a manual for the preacher, *L'Orateur Chrétien ou Traité de l'excellence et de la Pratique de la Chaire*. In the twenty-six pages which Chappuzeau devotes to "la Prononciation" there is already apparent something of the end-of-century disinclination to rely on prescriptive rule and favour personal identification in its stead. Chappuzeau's ideal is clearly a style of expression close to that of ordinary life and not deliberately grand or impassioned. Although he suggests that the voice change according to the emotions and subjects, he emphasizes that "il ne faut que parler en Chaire à peu près du même air qu'on parle dans une chambre,

et du même ton qu'on dit les choses dans l'entretien ordinaire et familier" (p.124). Equally important to Chappuzeau's ideal is that the preacher be genuinely sympathetic to the passions he portrays and it is significant in light of the eighteenth-century controversy over "hot" and "cold" acting, that Chappuzeau illustrates this point by citing the example of the actor: According to Chappuzeau, the preacher should do as the actor does, for "un bon Comédien doit faire bien plus que de régler sa voix et son geste...il ne peut s'aquiter dignement de sa profession, ni donner de la satisfaction aux Auditeurs, sans entrer effectivement dans la passion qu'il représente" (p.140).

Similar emphasis on personal conviction as an alternative to knowledge and expertise in artistic techniques for the purpose of eloquent persuasion is to be found in abbé Pierre de Villier's poem *L'Art de prêcher* (Paris, 1678) and in Claude Fleury's *Dernier discours sur la prédication* (Paris, 1688). Villier's poem, which enjoyed considerable success going into four editions by 1728, argued for less show and more genuine faith and sincerity in preaching:

L'Orateur dans la Chaire aura beau s'agiter,
S'il n'a dans lui ce feu, qu'il tâche d'exciter...
La nature conduit l'oeil, la main, et la voix,
Et les sçait au discours accommoder tous trois.

(Chant IV, p.55)

Claude Fleury was of the same opinion that rules were unnecessary to guide the preacher in his use of voice and gesture, "on n'a jamais compté entre les qualitez nécessaires à un Evêque, le brillant de l'esprit, la politesse du langage, la beauté de la voix ou du geste... on peut...fort bien prêcher selon l'intention de l'Eglise sans tous ces talens naturels et sans grande préparation" (*Dernier discours sur la predication*, 1688, pp.1-2).

During the same period emphasis on personal inner conviction was also expressed by Boursault who, in one of his *Lettres de respect, d'obligation et d'amour* (Paris, 1683) addressed "à tous les Jeunes Prédicateurs", stated "le plus sûr moyen à un Prédicateur pour toucher, c'est d'être touché lui-même" (II, p.4).

It was not until 1711 however that the repercussions of the new emphasis on sincere identification with one's matter and rejection of traditional prescriptive advice were felt in theories of delivery. It was in this year that J. Gaichiès first published his *Maximes sur le ministère de la chaire*, a work which was to be highly-esteemed and widely-read throughout the eighteenth century. Gaichiès discussed delivery in five chapters headed, "De l'action en general", "De l'air", "Du Geste", "De la voix" and "De la véhémence" (Chapters VII-XI), and in each evidence

of the new approach to eloquence may be found. Gaichiès was of the opinion that, although "l'art doit perfectionner la nature" this should not be forced for "hors du naturel tout est faux, air, voix, geste, langage, élocution, figures" (p.17). In common with Gisbert, Boursault, Lamy and others, Gaichiès laid the source of true eloquence in inner conviction, or what he calls "le zele" and "une vehemence interieure". Discussing talents required in preaching in general, Gaichiès stresses that "le zele est le premier talent, et celui qui met en oeuvre tous les autres. S'il est sincere et ardent, il fait rejaillir le merveilleux évangélique sur l'air, sur la voix, sur le geste" (p.15). Personal involvement for Gaichiès was not a technique for rendering more effective fundamental artistic principles but the source of the art itself. The preacher has no need of rules for management of voice and gesture beyond general guidance if he is truly sincere: "le feu de la Chaire ne consiste pas dans une contention forcée de la voix, et du geste; mais dans une vehemence interieure, qui naît de l'impression que fait le sujet sur l'ame de l'Orateur" (p.113). As a result of Gaichiès' fundamental principle, "l'air d'un homme persuadé persuade" (p.85), there was no need to provide detailed advice on how to make the voice and gesture express emotion. Thus although he stresses

that "chaque mouvement de l'ame a un geste qui lui est propre" (p.98), Gaichiès does not describe any movements of eyes, brows, body or hands particular to certain feelings. The major element of his advice is restricted to the principle that "le geste doit se former naturellement, et suivre la parole sans étude" (p.98). It is significant in this connection that the use of the mirror to check the grace and effectiveness of one's gesture, recommended in traditional theory, should have been rejected by Gaichiès as it was to be by theorists of acting: "outre que le miroir renverse l'action, l'étude y paroît affectée" (p.94). Similarly Gaichiès disapproves of that other traditional component of rhetorical theory, imitation, expressing his opposition in terms which again herald the idiom of later eighteenth-century aesthetics: "l'imitation en gête plusieurs; l'on étouffe son génie, pour se donner celui qui ne convient pas" (p.17). Finally Gaichiès shows evidence of that other characteristic of disinclination for the style of traditional rhetoric, dislike of the emphatic cadenced style of delivery. His ideal, like that of Chappuzeau, is of a style of delivery closer to ordinary conversation: "le ton emphatique est une fausse majesté... la déclamation étourdit, l'entretien s'insinue" (pp.106-110). Vehemence becomes less a question of forceful tone and gesture than of deep inner involvement, not "une contention

forcée de la voix et du geste", but "une vehemence interieure, qui nait de l'impression que fait le sujet sur l'ame de l'Orateur, et qu'il faut plutôt réprimer qu'exciter. Quand on est peu touché des choses, on ne parle pas, on recite" (p.113).

The art of delivery was evolving in the early eighteenth century from a body of precise, classically-based rules to the more general artistic principles which still form the matter of works on elocution and acting. Training for oratorical delivery was no longer seen in terms of learning and practising of time-honoured precepts combined with imitation of good models exemplifying these precepts. Art was coming to be considered as the product of a particular sensibility rather than mastery of established principles. At the same time eloquence was losing its distinctive qualities of grandeur, of conscious grace and ordered beauty which set it apart from everyday forms of expression. Fénelon in his *Dialogues sur l'éloquence* (1717) was repeatedly to advocate a more natural form of expression: "tout l'art des bons orateurs ne consiste qu'à observer ce que la nature fait quand elle n'est point retenue"¹¹⁰. Fénelon expressly advised against traditional rhetorical precepts governing voice and gesture; the familiar insistence on flowing, harmonious, effectively-cadenced delivery is replaced by a realization of the potential of suspension of movement: "il y a des choses où l'on

exprimeroit mieux ses pensées par une cessation de tout mouvement"¹¹¹.

One final example of the disfavour into which *pronuntiatio* fell during the eighteenth century may be cited to highlight the preoccupations of the new aesthetic. *Le Ministre évangélique ou réflexions sur l'éloquence* (Paris, 1726), an anonymous text attributed to l'Abbé Juilhard Du Jarry, included some remarks on management of voice and gesture in preaching. The writer's opposition to traditional theories of delivery is made immediately apparent: "Toutes les regles que l'on pourroit prescrire en général pour perfectionner le geste du Prédicateur, me paroissent non seulement inutiles, mais directement opposées à l'esprit d'un Ministere...Un Ministre du Seigneur, pénétré des grandes veritez qu'il annonce, ne pense gueres à étudier les mouvemens de ses yeux et de ses mains" (p.201). The ideal is identical with that set out by Chappuzeau, Gisbert and Gaichiès: "il faut que le zèle qui l'anime produise de lui-même l'action qui lui est propre" (p.202). Carefully-arranged gesture, the ideal of those writers who had advocated the mirror, is rejected along with that other traditional ideal, cadenced, flowing style of speaking:

"un geste

trop ménagé ne seroit pas moins condamnable qu'une cadence trop sensible; car le coeur ne peut être ému de ce qui paroît étudié" (p.202). Far from being the result of conscious, rational study, delivery in this writer's scheme comes close to the idea of inspiration: "il faut que le Predicateur en s'oubliant lui-même fasse oublier en même tems à l'Auditeur celui qui parle" (p.202).

The evolution of the art of *pronuntiatio* in the century between 1620 and 1730 reflects patterns and trends of aesthetics which dominated more familiar art-forms of the period. We have seen how the art of delivery became a subject of interest and highly-detailed study during the second half of the seventeenth century, when the Classical spirit asserted itself in this sphere. Characteristic of this approach are fidelity to classical principles of delivery and to the aesthetics of classical art, that is belief in the value of study, practice and imitation of fundamental principles and excellent models. Equally important for this group of writers was expression of the passions which they analyze and emphasize to a degree beyond that of their classical sources. By the mid 1670s however the approach of such writers as Le Faucheur is challenged by the first signs of reaction against Classicism.

Although many still followed Le Faucheur's pattern of advice on delivery, a spirit which rejected academic rules and favoured emphasis on artistic sensibility was emerging. This suggested that delivery should be inspired by personally-held sentiments rather than prescriptive rules, and that delivery should come closer to real-life and pattern its style of expression upon it, rather than try to heighten and perfect it into a noble, dignified stylistic ideal. Similar concerns were to dominate discussion of acting throughout the eighteenth century, and although no theories of acting have survived from the seventeenth century, it may be presumed that, just as in the later period theories of acting and oratorical delivery were to reflect similar preoccupations and principles, so in the earlier period acting subscribed to an aesthetic theory similar to that of Le Faucheur. The aim of the following two chapters will be to indicate from the evidence available the extent of the overlap and its consequences on acting style. Chapter two traces the development which favoured identification of the new-style French actor with the art of *pronuntiatio*, and the reflection of this in writings on acting during the seventeenth century. Knowledge of principles of oratorical delivery for the same period further enables examination of the consequences such an identification had on acting and from this examination

may be gained a better understanding of the expectations of a seventeenth-century theatre audience. Chapter three completes this study of the relationship between *pronuntiatio* and acting by highlighting precise areas of overlap and differentiation in writings by and for actors on the two arts during the early eighteenth century. It was during the first half of this century that the art of *pronuntiatio* branched out into more specialized theories of acting and oratorical delivery, making it a particularly valuable period for study of the overlap between the two art-forms. Chapter three isolates the extent to which acting theory patterned itself upon *pronuntiatio* and gradually distinguished itself from this model by formulating principles particular to acting and to the new aims and ideals of eighteenth-century drama. By 1750, when François Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre* was published, acting had ceased to require the classical model of *pronuntiatio* to bolster its principles and enhance its artistic status, it had become an art in its own right.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES TO CHAPTER ONE

- 1 Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, III.i.5. In F. Cassandre's translation, *La Rhétorique d'Aristote en François* (Paris, 1654), this is rendered as: "c'est une matiere qui jusques à present n'a point encore esté traitté ny réduite en Art" (p.414).
- 2 Cassandre, p.413.
- 3 Cassandre, p.497.
- 4 J. Racine, *Principes de la tragédie en marge de la Poétique d'Aristote*, éd. Vinaver, Manchester, 1944, p.14.
- 5 J. Cassagnes, *La Rhétorique de Cicéron* (Paris, 1673) has been used better to render the terminology appropriate to seventeenth-century France. Cassagnes, p.70.
- 6 Cassagnes, p.82.
- 7 Cassagnes, p.323.
- 8 See Quintilian, I.xi.1-12.
- 9 See Quintilian, XI.iii.89; I.xi.1; VI.ii.34.
- 10 Gedoyn's translation, *Quintilien De l'Institution de l'Orateur* (Paris, 1718) has been used to retain French terminology. Gedoyn, p.745.
- 11 See W.H. Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and other humanist educators*, Cambridge, 1897.
- 12 See Quintilian, XI.iii.64.
- 13 See F. de Dainville, "L'Evolution de l'enseignement de la rhétorique au dix-septième siècle", *XVIIe Siècle*, 80-1(1968), pp.19-24, and G. Codina-Mir, *Aux Sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites: le "modus parisiensis"*, Roma, 1968.

- 14 Dainville, "L'Evolution de l'enseignement de la rhétorique", p.25.
- 15 M. Fumaroli has suggested that the interest in techniques of *pronuntiatio* shown in ecclesiastical rhetorics of the period 1570-1625, played "le rôle moteur dans la renaissance d'une *actio rhetorica* au XVIIe siècle, et c'est à partir de cette version ecclésiastique de l'*actio* que ses dérivations profanes (étiquette de Cour, art du comédien "réformé") se sont développées", (*L'Age de l'Eloquence*, Genève, 1980, p.315).
- 16 On Cresollius, see Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles-Paris, 1891), II, p.1654: "Louis de Cressolles, né en Bretagne, dans le diocèse de Tréguier, en 1568, entra au noviciat en 1588. Il enseigna les humanités, la rhétorique, la philosophie et la théologie. Il devint secrétaire du Général de la Compagnie et mourut à Rome, le 11 novembre 1634".
- 17 See Montaigne, *Essais*, éd. M. Rat, Garnier, Paris, 1962, I, xvii, p.191, on his performance in the plays staged at the Collège de Guyenne between 1539-46, which he claimed to have given him "une assurance de visage, et souplesse de voix et de geste".
- The important rôle played by drama in teaching establishments of Western Europe at this period is attested to by the statutes of schools and colleges (e.g. Eton). It is particularly significant that, like Montaigne, these statutes suggest the value of acting to lie partly in cultivation of vocal and gestural management, in other words, in applying and practising principles of *pronuntiatio*.
- 18 *Ratio atque Institutio studiorum societatis Jesu*, trad. H. Ferté, Paris, 1892, p.100.
- 19 B. Gibert, *Jugemens des sçavans sur les auteurs qui ont traité de la rhétorique*, Amsterdam, 1725, VIII-2, p.407.
- 20 For example: "Caput divinissima pars" (p.100), "In vultu expressam esse animi effigiem" (p.130), "Frons animi ianua: ea nec ferrea nec mollissima esse debet: humanitas et autoritas significanda" (p.151).

- 21 "Frontem caperare an deceat, aut in dicendo manu percutere" (p.153), "Sternutatio oratori fugienda" (p.207), "Ne screator sputatorque sit orator" (p.239).
- 22 *De Officiis*, I.xxvii.94, translated by P. Du Ryer in 1666 as "cette bienseance est de telle nature qu'il est impossible de la separer de la Vertu; car ce qui est bien-seant est vertueux, et ce qui est vertueux est bien-seant" (*Les Offices de Ciceron*, pp.82-3).
- 23 Comparison of this text with that of Cresollius reveals many common principles, indicative of the extent to which polite etiquette/civility overlapped with the code of *pronuntiatio*. The influence would appear to have been reciprocal: the decorum prescribed for the Roman orator having been accepted as a model of polite behaviour, conventions of contemporary society modifying slightly this paradigm on certain points. Some examples of the overlap are in the advice on the eyes and nose, Erasmus recommending that the former be "agreables...et aucunement arrestez: non de travers ...non esgarez...ny louches" and that "c'est une chose ridicule de parler du nez...froncer le nez appartient aux mocqueurs et gauffeurs" (*La Civilité morale*, trad. Claude Hardy, Paris, 1613).
- 24 See M. Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'éloquence*, p.326.
- 25 *Vacationes autumnales*, p.120
- 26 *Vacationes autumnales*, pp.175-83.
- 27 *Vacationes autumnales*, p.178.
- 28 Wepy, *Adresse pour acquérir la facilité de persuader et parvenir à la vraie éloquence*, Verdun, 1625. Edition consulted, 2e éd., Paris, 1636.
- Stille de l'orateur, où se voyent les marques par lesquelles les anciens et les modernes se sont rendus éloquens*, 1ere éd. s.d.. Edition consulted, 3e éd., Paris, 1647.
- 29 Title page of *Adresse*, Paris, 1636.

- 30 *Stille*, p.483.
- 31 See Le Gras, *La R  thorique* (sic) *fran  oise*, Paris, 1672, p.283.
- 32 *Stille*, p.488.
- 33 Gedoyn, p.772 (XI.iii.114).
- 34 J. Bulwer, *Chironomia*, London, 1644, p.75.
- 35 Le Faucheur, p.228; Bretteville, p.492.
- 36 Le Faucheur, p.223; Wepy, p.490; Quintilian, XI.iii.101.
- 37 Bary, p.77.
- 38 Bulwer, *Chironomia*, p.37: "commonly when we   demand... we use to change or turne our hand, raising it a little upwards".
Lang: "the right hand turned a little and raised up" p.37.
- 39 Bulwer, *Chironomia*, pp.44-5; Lang, p.38; Le Faucheur, p.217; Bretteville, p.491.
- 40 Bary, p.104, see appendix I.
- 41 Bulwer, *Chironomia*, p.55 (plate 15); Lang, p.37.
- 42 Le Faucheur, p.219; Wepy, p.490; Bretteville, p.490.
- 43 Lang, p.37; Bary, p.78.
- 44 Bulwer, *Chironomia*, p.78; Lang, p.36; Le Faucheur, p.223; Bretteville, p.490.
- 45 Bulwer, p.78; Bary, pp.91-2.
- 46 Bulwer, pp.79-80.
- 47 Bary, pp.82-5 (plate 21).

- 48 Le Faucheur, p.214.
- 49 Bulwer, pp.43-54
- 50 Le Faucheur, p.220 and p.200.
- 51 See Bretteville, p.490; Le Gras, p.275; Rollin, IV, p. 494.
- 52 Mme Riccoboni in a letter to Diderot of 1758 explained the need for frontal positioning, "la position des acteurs, toujours debout, toujours tournés vers le parterre" on two counts. Firstly for reasons of audibility, and secondly, significant in light of the concentration of rhetorical theory on facial expression, because, "le visage ajoute à l'expression...et...à trois pieds des lampes un acteur n'a plus de visage" (Diderot, *Correspondance*, éd. Roth, II, p.87). This may have been one of the reasons why Montfleury criticized Molière for his presentation "le nez au vent... et l'épaule en avant" (*L'Impromptu de l'Hôtel de Condé*).
- 53 Jouvancy, *Christianis litterarum magistris de ratione discendi et docendi*, trad. H. Ferté, Paris, 1892, p.44.
- 54 Lang, p.30 (plate 61).
- 55 Bary, p.91.
- 56 Le Faucheur, p.215.
- 57 Bulwer, p. 47
- 58 Bulwer, pp.28-9 and p.50.
- 59 Lang, p.38.
- 60 Le Faucheur, p.219; Bary, p.97 (plate 52).
- 61 Wepy, *Adresse*, p.389.
- 62 Wepy, *Adresse*, pp.388 and 482. It is worth noting in this context the description given by Langlois in 1658 of "le ton du barreau" as being "comme

- 62 un chant Gregorien dont l'harmonie est plus rompuë, et le ton plus sourd" (Cour de Cassation, ms.262, fol.27).
- 63 Wepy, *Stille*, pp.485-9.
- 64 F. de Dainville, "L'Evolution de l'enseignement de la rhétorique au XVIIe siècle", *XVIIe Siècle*, 80-1(1968), p.30.
- 65 B. Lamy, *La Rhétorique ou l'art de parler*, 4e éd., Amsterdam, 1699, p.108.
- 66 Langlois, *Institution oratoire*, Cour de Cassation, ms.262, fol. 71.
- 67 B. Gibert, *Jugemens des sçavans*, Amst., 1725, VIII-2, p.244.
- 68 La Mothe le Vayer, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1656, I, p.838.
- 69 See appendix V on evolving meaning of the word *pantomime*.
- 70 Sometimes described as being by Conrart who undertook publication of Le Faucheur's text.
- 71 See for example Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, II.xiii.9.
- 72 Le Faucheur, p. 66
 "Il trouva moyen de...vaincre...sa langue grasse, en prenant dans sa bouche de ces petits cailloux que l'on trouve sur la grève des rivières"
- 73 Richesource, *L'Eloquence de la chaire*, pp.175-6.
- 74 See Dainville, as noté 64; J. Montagu, *Charles Le Brun*, doctoral thesis, University of London, 1960; W. McCausland Stewart, "Charles Le Brun & Jean Racine, contacts et points de rencontre", *Actes du 5e congrès des langues et littératures modernes*, Firenze, 1955, pp.213-29.

- 75 Cicero, *D.O.*, II, 189-94; Quintilian, *I.O.*, VI.ii.24-36.
- 76 Quintilian, XI.iii.61.
- 77 Le Faucheur, p.111.
- 78 Le Faucheur, pp.114-25.
- 79 Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Rondel ms. 200(1).
- 80 As an example of anadiplosis may be cited Corneille's line *Dure, dure à jamais l'esclavage de Rome* (*Cinna*, III, iii, 1.886).
- 81 A. Villiers, "L'Acteur Molière et l'expression du tragique", *RH7*, 1974-I, p.50.
- 82 Le Brun, *Conference sur l'expression*, was printed in a corrupt text in 1698 but was first delivered on 7th April 1668 and then repeated in 1678.
- 83 See plates 32 & 45.
- 84 Quintilian, XI.iii.78.
- 85 Diderot, *Correspondance*, éd., Roth, II; p.93. See also Langlois on gesture accompanying cadence of words: "Que le corps suive la cadence de la parole...j'approuve fort la cadence réglée et composée des deux bras l'un après l'autre comme pour fournir de contrepoids" (fol. 27).
- 86 Langlois, fol.27.
- 87 Chappuzeau, *Le Théâtre françois*, Lyon, 1674, p.141.
- 88 Colomiès, *La Rhétorique de l'honnête homme*, Amst., 1699, p.166.
- 89 Rollin, *De la manière d'enseigner et d'étudier les belles-lettres*, Paris, 1726-8, IV, p.487: "Il y a un autre en François, mais manuscrit, qui vient du fameux M. Lenglet...M. Lenglet tenoit ce traité d'un celebre acteur de son temps nommé Floridor".

- 90 Sommervogel, V (1894), p.147: "Jean Lucas, né à Caudebec...le 1er septembre 1638, entra au noviciat le 29 octobre 1656. Il professa la rhétorique à Paris (1671-7) et la théologie, fut recteur d'Orléans, Caen et Rouen, instructeur du 3e an et préposé de la Maison professe. Il mourut à Paris, le 2 janvier 1716".
- 91 Coustel, *Sentiments de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1694, p.110.
- 92 Gaichies, *Maximes sur le ministère de la Chaire*, Paris, 1711, p.113.
- 93 R. Barthes, "L'Ancienne Rhétorique", *Communications*, 16(1970), pp.192-3.
- 94 B. Gisbert, *Le Bon goût de l'éloquence chrétienne*, Lyon, 1702, p.73.
- 95 *Lettre sur la nature et l'usage de l'éloquence*, 1704, p.7.
- 96 Goibaud-Dubois, *Les Sermons de Saint-Augustin*, Paris, 1694, p.xlv.
- 97 Fénelon, *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1850, VI, p.583.
- 98 Writers who followed the approach of Le Faucheur were:
 Richesource, *L'Eloquence de la Chaire*, Paris, 1665
 Le Gras, *La Réthorique(sic) françoise*, Paris, 1671
 Du Port, *L'Art de prêcher*, Paris, 1674
 Bretteville, *L'Eloquence de la chaire et du barreau*, Paris, 1689
 Colomiès, *La Rhétorique de l'honnête homme*, Amst., 1699.
- Du Roure in his *Rhétorique françoise* (1662) included elements of Le Faucheur's approach, in particular his emphasis on the brows.
- 99 See D.H. Roy, "Acteurs et spectateurs à l'Hôtel de Bourgogne, vers une notation de la communication théâtrale", in *Dramaturgie et Société*, Paris, 1968, I, pp.288-96.

- 100 *Traité du récitatif*, 2e éd., Amsterdam, 1740, p.81.
- 101 See plates 11, 21, 23, 33, 39, 43, 49 and 52.
- 102 See J.R. Spencer, "*Ut rhetorica pictura*", *JWCI*, 20 (1957), p.33: "Cicero had already indicated the effect of gesture on the audience and had, in his own way, made general observations on its varieties. It was Quintilian who finally reduced Cicero's imprecise discussion to a clear-cut rule. By adapting these rules for oratorical practice to painting, Alberti gives Quintilian's statement the appearance of logical conclusions derived from observation. These he now presents as suggestions to guide the artist".
- 103 Goujet, *Bibliothèque françoise*, Paris, 1740-54, II, p.252.
- 104 A. François, *Histoire de la langue française cultivée*, Genève, 1959, I, p.318.
- 105 Hindret, *L'Art de bien prononcer*, Paris, 1687, pp. 204-39.
- 106 Rollin, IV, pp.497-8.
- 107 F. Riccoboni, *Art du Théâtre*, pp.11-2.
- 108 A. François, *Histoire de la langue française cultivée*, II, p.83.
- 109 Fénelon, *Oeuvres complètes*, VI, p.622.
- 110 Fénelon, *Oeuvres complètes*, VI, p.585.
- 111 Fénelon, VI, p.583.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTS OF THE FRENCH TRAGIC ACTOR AND TRAGIC ACTING
(1630-1700) AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO THE RHETORICAL
IDEAL

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTS OF THE FRENCH TRAGIC ACTOR AND
TRAGIC ACTING (1630-1700) AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO
PRONUNTIATIO

Discussion of acting styles has always been a hazardous business until the present century when the actor's art has been more accurately recorded on record and film. Without very precise descriptions of past actors' delivery and gesture in particular roles it is difficult to draw any sure conclusions about acting style in previous centuries. Although letters, gazettes and journals attest to increasing interest in things theatrical amongst the French literary public of the seventeenth century, the value of such information as regards acting style is extremely limited. As P. Mèlèse has pointed out in his *Le Théâtre et le public à Paris sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1934), "ni dans les gazettes ni dans les journaux ne figurent de critiques réelles du jeu des comédiens" (p.192). For the period 1620-1700 description and criticism of tragic acting practice is too limited, both quantitatively and qualitatively, to support an analytical study of tragic acting style. Dramatic criticism of this period was more concerned with the writer than the actor, a situation epitomized by D'Aubignac's statement in *La Pratique du Théâtre* (Paris, 1657), "on ne doit pas

attendre ici des instructions pour ceux qui jouent la Tragédie, ou la Comédie; je regarde en ce Discours le Poëte seulement, et non pas les Histrions"¹. As for gazetteers and letter-writers such as Loret, Robinet and Madame de Sévigné, more interest was shown in the private lives of actors and actresses or in details of particular casting and setting than in style of acting as such. Even Molière, the actor-playwright whose style and concept of acting would appear to have challenged contemporary ideas, left no theoretical or critical study of his art, our knowledge of his approach to acting being restricted to certain passages of the comedies themselves.

While detailed descriptions of acting style and individual interpretations are lacking for this period of French theatre history, sufficient writings are available which reveal audience expectation and interpretation of the function of the tragic actor. Study of material which discusses how actors worked, what were or should have been their aims, and the effects they were expected to produce, makes it possible to uncover features of the Classical acting aesthetic and to analyze the extent to which this aesthetic was moulded upon principles of rhetorical theory. It is the specific aim of this chapter to trace the emergence of direct identification of tragic acting with rhetorical

theories of delivery in seventeenth-century France, and to discuss the manifestations and consequences of this identification. The first part of the chapter will trace through writings of the period evidence of direct identification of the new-style *comédien* with the classical, literary style of delivery, *pronuntiatio*, and its practitioners. From this material it becomes clear that part of the process of raising the status of the French theatre in the seventeenth century involved rejection of a certain popular style of acting and actor in favour of an ideal based upon the classical conception of the perfect orator. An antithesis developed between the socially-acceptable, educated, intelligent graceful actor-artist and the image of the popular entertainer whose craft failed to conform to the standards of propriety required by the élitist ideal. The "art" of acting as conceived by seventeenth-century French critics was heavily weighted therefore by social and moral concerns, by a conception of artistic *bien-séance* similar to that which governed oratorical delivery at the same period. Familiarity with those principles which were designed to ensure dignity of expression in the French seventeenth-century orator, makes it possible to suggest how a similar aesthetic pertaining to acting might have influenced style of performance. The second part of this chapter

isolates four particular ways in which rhetorical theory would appear to have influenced the approach to acting and consequently its style in seventeenth-century Paris. These four areas are characterization, portrayal of emotion, management of the voice and the place of gesture. Throughout the present chapter my intention has been to highlight how tragic acting was evaluated and appreciated by seventeenth-century French critics and to assess the extent to which their appreciation was based upon rhetorical principles, and to which they encouraged the actor to approach his art along lines suggested by *pronuntiatio*. This chapter thus prepares for chapter three in which theoretical writings on delivery and acting by and/or for actors will be examined for evidence of direct overlap between *pronuntiatio* and acting theory, and for indications of the stages by which acting developed its own aesthetic.

For the purposes of this chapter the changes which took place in French theatre and drama between 1630 and 1700 are taken to be sufficiently well-known to need no summary introduction. The aesthetics of French Classicism and the history of Parisian theatre during this period are assumed to be points of reference which the reader will have at his disposal in interpreting the material examined in this chapter². Three characteristics of this background however

may be highlighted for the purposes of this study, what may be termed the social, the aesthetic and the professional factors. The process of raising the status of the French theatre in the 1630s may be seen in terms of the rejection of popular culture in favour of an élitist aesthetic, a situation described by M.Descotes in his study of theatre audiences, *Le Public de théâtre et son histoire* (Paris, 1964): "au cours des années 1630-1660, un phénomène capital se produit. Le théâtre cesse d'être un divertissement pour le populaire. Il devient la récréation choisie d'une société qui a désormais défini les formes de sa vie mondaine" (p.101)³. As R.Muchembled has illustrated so clearly in his essay, *Culture populaire et culture des élites dans la France moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1978), it was an intrinsic part of the absolutism which pertained in France during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that the literary, classically-modelled culture of the élite should have been asserted as that uniquely worthy of the very name culture. Popular culture, as Muchembled explains, "connut une éclipse presque totale à l'époque du Roi-Soleil. Sa cohérence interne disparut définitivement...il n'y avait place dans la France de la Raison, puis dans celle des Lumières, que pour une seule conception du monde et de la vie: celle de la Cour et des élites citadines, que véhiculait la culture intellectuelle.

Un immense effort de réduction de la diversité à l'unité constituait la base même de la civilisation française conquérante" (p.341)⁴. The establishment of professional theatre in seventeenth-century Paris is but one manifestation of assertion of élite culture and, as a result, the aesthetic values which governed both drama and acting in this period were those of the dominant élite. It is in this context that classicism and professionalism become important. The élite of early seventeenth-century France overtly modelled their culture on classical prototypes, drawing authority for their behaviour, their literature, their art from the literary heritage of Antiquity, thus forming a sharp contrast with the unscripted and more diverse traditions of popular culture. The French theatre of the seventeenth century was to be definitively shaped by this classical reference, as was the actor's art. Professionalism was the direct and logical corollary of classically-modelled élite culture. For implicit in the classical heritage was a precedent of professional, state-patronized theatre of literary value, as well as an aesthetic which rejected the spontaneous, the eclectic, the plebian in favour of Ideal Beauty created through constant striving to perfect Nature with Art.

The social, aesthetic and professional aspects therefore are

inextricably bound up with each other in the context of seventeenth-century French theatre and are clearly apparent in the concept of actor and acting which developed at this period. Inevitably the theatre of the *élite* required a particular sort of actor, one who was socially acceptable and who, in his acting as much as in his person would subscribe to the conventions and code of behaviour which distinguished the *élite* from the masses. The new-style *comédien* was to be a *honnête homme*, decorous in language and gesture, as the 1641 edict was to stipulate⁵, and thereby a totally different type of performer from the provincial *baladin* the Italian comedians, the fair entertainer or even the *farceurs* of the Hôtel de Bourgogne at the beginning of the century (Gaultier-Garguille, Gros-Guillaume, Turlupin etc). Classical precedent was further to support identification of the *comédien* with the qualities of the *honnête homme*, as has been seen in the context of the distinctions which Cicero and Quintilian made between two types of actor⁶. As will be seen in the course of this chapter, the new-style *comédien* was to be directly identified with his classical models, Roscius and Aesopus, and was to be recommended, as they had been, as a model of *pronuntiatio* for the orator or preacher. Just as the aesthetics of written expression in the culture of the *élite* were to be based upon classical rhetorical theory, so the aesthetics of vocal expression and gestural management have their source in *pronuntiatio*, rather than in popular acting

tradition. The following study will illustrate the depth, range and ramifications of this identification of *comédien* with principles of *pronuntiatio*.

As in all matters relating to the French Classical theatre it is l'abbé D'Aubignac who offers the most sustained evidence of the new aesthetic. Throughout *La Pratique du théâtre*, written in the 1640s but not published until 1657⁷, D'Aubignac identifies the new reformed dramatic art with rhetorical principles and procedures. Repeatedly we are reminded of the extent to which the culture of the élite was a culture founded upon knowledge of rhetoric. The key which permitted entry to the culture of the ruling class, the code which would distinguish the governing from the governed was rhetoric. For D'Aubignac, a grounding in rhetorical principles was more than necessary for the dramatic poet, it was an essential prerequisite: "Je présume...un Poëte instruit en la Rhetorique", "Mon dessein n'est pas ici d'enseigner cette partie de la Rhetorique qu'on nomme le Genre Deliberatif...notre Poëte ne doit pas attendre qu'il soit monté sur le Theatre pour prendre connoissance de ces principes" (p.265 & p.280). Similarly dramatic writing itself was considered as a genre governed by those principles taught in rhetorical manuals: "le Poëme Dramatique est comme une quintessence

de tous les preceptes qui se lisent dans les Auteurs, qui nous ont enseigné l'art de bien dire en prose et en vers" (p.280). La Mesnardière in his *Poétique* (1640) had expressed a similar attitude in which rhetoric is seen not merely as the art of oratorical expression but the very art of expression itself: "Comme l'Art de bien parler, qu'ils appellent *la Rhétorique* est absolument nécessaire au Poete et à l'Orateur, nous ne devons pas douter que ceux qui se meslent d'écrire et de faire admirer leurs pensées n'ayent acquis toutes les lumières qui doivent conduire leur plume" (p.326). Both D'Aubignac and La Mesnardière confirm what is to some extent evident from the rhetorically-orientated pedagogy of the period, that rhetoric was adopted as the appropriate art of expression for the élite and élite culture⁸.

Although, as we have seen, D'Aubignac specifically stated that his *Pratique du Théâtre* would contain no instructions for the actor, as Professor K. Holmström has pointed out, "both his *Pratique du Théâtre* and his *Projet pour le rétablissement du Theatre Français* are permeated with the idea of an entirely new type of actor: the cultivated artist who can subordinate himself to the text and interpret its subtleties in an adequate way"⁹. The particular manner in which D'Aubignac formulates this ideal, contrasting and

distinguishing between an earlier, morally lax, socially-unacceptable, uneducated performer, in other words one not initiated into the rhetorical club, and the post-Richelieu *comédien* who both personally and in his acting adhered to the system, epitomizes the acting ideal of seventeenth-century French Classicism.

The premiss upon which D'Aubignac's attitude to acting rests lies in his conception of two contrasting styles of theatrical entertainment, on the one hand "farces et bouffonneries", and on the other the legitimate, literary genres, comedy and tragedy. Clearly this is an extension of the qualitative distinction made by Cicero and Quintilian between a lower, indecorous type of acting and a more serious, dignified style worthy of the educated, cultured man. D'Aubignac's attitude to the lower style however is somewhat more rigid and condemnatory, for in an equation characteristic of French Classicism, D'Aubignac identifies pre-Richelieu (i.e pre-Absolutism) acting with an entertainment lacking art, reason and decorum and which therefore could only be appreciated by the lower orders:

la Comédie est long-temps demeurée parmi nous
non seulement dans la bassesse, mais dans
l'infamie; car elle s'est changée en cette
Farce ou impertinente bouffonnerie que nos
Theatres ont soufferte ensuite des Tragédies:
Ouvrages indignes d'être mis au rang des Poemes
Dramatiques, sans art, sans parties, sans raison,
et qui n'étoient recommandables qu'aux maraux et

aux infames, à raison des paroles deshonnêtes
et des actions impudentes qui en faisoient
toutes les graces

(p.132)

Examples of a similar social distinction between pre- and post-Establishment acting and drama could be multiplied. For the purposes of this study the statements of two of D'Aubignac's contemporaries will suffice. The division of drama into two broad categories, the farcical type lacking intellectual content and decorum, and the classical genres tragedy and comedy which only the élite would appreciate, is even more sharply drawn by La Mesnardière than it is by D'Aubignac. In his introduction to the *Poétique* La Mesnardière explains that the "peuple" will be unable to enjoy the classically-modelled genres. Tragedy in particular, "où tout est pompeux et sublime, grave et rempli de maïesté", would be difficult for them to understand: "la multitude ne peut tirer aucun profit des malheurs de la Tragédie...le profit...est réservé aux grandes Ames" (pp.N-P). The populace; according to La Mesnardière, might only appreciate tragedy on a superficial level, that is by enjoying the spectacle: "si le Peuple a quelque part en ces spectacles illustres, c'est seulement par la veüe" (p.N). Similarly the preserve of the élite was regular comedy, for the populace "est mesme incapable de gouster la Comédie, si elle n'est

dereglée, et remplie d'absurditez" (p.V). As in D'Aubignac therefore, élite culture is identified with classical models and the art of rhetoric, while popular culture is attributed with qualities of disorder, immorality, appeal to the senses, superficiality. The drama of the élite thus adopts the tradition of the humanist school play, while popular drama is identified with the farce tradition and thereby with the Italian comedians. As La Mesnardière explained, "les Saltinbanques d'Italie, les faiseurs de saults perilleux, les Zanis, les Pantalons et autres gens de cette étoffe, sont des Acteurs proportionnez à la capacité du peuple, selon qu'elle est aujourd'hui" (p.R).

Sorel, in his *La Maison des Jeux* (1643) differentiates between pre- and post-Richelieu drama along the same lines, an earlier, worthless popular style and the present, socially acceptable, dignified, intellectually-satisfying style. Particularly interesting for the purposes of this study is the description Sorel gives of the sort of actor exercising these different styles. Just as earlier drama lacked art, reason and dignity, so with the actor: "autrefois l'Hostel de Bourgogne n'estoit qu'une retraite de basteleurs grossiers et sans.

Art, qui alloient appeller le monde au son du tambour jusqu'au Carrefour de St Eustache...ce n'étoit que la canaille de Paris qui les alloit là escouter. Maintenant nous y avons des Comédiens Illustres entretenus des Roys et des Princes, qui y representent des pieces graves et serieuses, dignes des plus chastes oreilles et de l'austerité des Philosophes" (p.426).

The new-style *comédien* therefore was distinguished from his predecessors by the fact that he subscribed to the social code of the governing élite. Further evidence of the extent to which the seventeenth-century French actor was required to be an *honnête homme* will be examined later in this chapter. For the present let us remain with D'Aubignac to discover how dependent this social requirement was upon those other aspects of French Classicism: direct reference to classical prototype and the art of rhetoric, and the demand for professionalism.

For D'Aubignac the model which French drama and theatre would have to follow if it were to raise itself above frivolous entertainment for the masses, was the drama and theatre of Greece and Rome. "L'Art de composer les Poemes Dramatiques, et de les représenter", he tells us,

"semble avoir eu la même destinée que ces superbes édifices, où les Anciens les ont tant de fois admirés. Il a suivi leur chute, et a long-tems été comme enseveli sous les ruines d'Athènes et de Rome" (p.11). Significantly it was not merely imitation of the art of classical drama which D'Aubignac advocated, but recovery of the ancient art of acting as well. Describing the situation in France at the time he was writing, D'Aubignac thus acknowledges that progress has been made by both dramatists and actors: "Il est vrai que dans nôtre siècle nos Poètes aiant repris le chemin du Parnasse, et sur les routes d'Euripide et de Terence, et s'étant trouvé des Acteurs dignes de tenir la place d'Esop ce fameux Joueur de Tragédies, et de Roscius ce célèbre Comedien, la Scene a repris un nouveau visage" (pp.11-2). As we have seen, just as dramatic expression was identified with the art of rhetoric, so Roscius and Aesopus were precisely those actors mentioned by Cicero and Quintilian as models of *pronuntiatio*. Although he does not specifically say so, what D'Aubignac is recommending in the above passage, is that the actor, like the poet, be firmly grounded in the art of rhetoric so as to be able to deliver his lines appropriately and well. The social and professional requirements which D'Aubignac and others were to make of the *comédien* are indeed directly related to the habit of identifying the art of expression with

the principles of classical rhetoric. The orator/artist was required by definition to be a good man, of good education, socially acceptable, of good reputation and with a certain air of dignity. These are precisely the qualities which apologists of the new-style *comédien* were to emphasise and contrast with the low moral and social position of earlier performers. Similarly the orator/artist was expected to be a professional, or at least to adopt a professional attitude to his art, diligently preparing himself for his career with a liberal education and concentrated study of the principles and best examples of his art. He was to be a man of intelligence and learning who would approach his art with seriousness and wisdom. Again these are qualities which seventeenth-century writers call for in the *comédien*.

As D'Aubignac's *Projet pour le rétablissement du Theatre François* reveals so clearly, there are two concepts of the actor in seventeenth-century France, *farceur/bateleur* v. *comédien*, or in other terms, popular v. governing élite. By elaborating an ideal for acting based upon rhetorical principles (social standing, moral rectitude, education, dignity), the élite were effectively bringing a notoriously lawless profession under their control. The new actor, even if he had not had the benefit of a full education would need to be able to read, memorize and deliver long

speeches of rhetorical verse. To retain the patronage of the *élite* he would need to be socially acceptable and versed in the manners of that society. While to portray the characters of the new tragedy and comedy before audiences which directly identified these characters with their own society, he would have to mix with this society and adopt their styles of costume, expression and deportment. Establishment of permanent theatres in Paris completed centralized control by the *élite*. The ideal developed for the actor in the seventeenth century may be seen therefore in terms of assertion of power by a certain social group; the actor represents, displays and confirms the standards and values of a particular class. Inevitably then this ideal has political implications. As expulsion of the Italian comedians in 1697 and the restrictions placed upon the performers of the Fair theatres at the end of the century show, popular acting, relying so heavily on satire and parody, and employing peripatetic entertainers not averse to spicing their material with social or political criticisms, posed a threat to the Establishment. The *comédien/honnête homme* whose life-style depended upon pleasing a certain type of audience, represented the actor tamed. It is in this context that the anti-theatre prejudice of the Church becomes interesting.

It was not until about 1675 that the Church began to assert its traditional attitude of hostility towards the acting profession in France; as G. Mongrédien has shown "au cours du dernier quart du siècle...l'Eglise raidit sa position, conformément aux recommandations de ses théologiens et des moralistes"¹⁰. Until this date it would appear that the Church was prepared to accept the official attitude of the State as exemplified in the 1641 edict. Provided actors did not perform disreputable actions on stage and would "innocemment divertir nos peuples de diverses occupations mauvaises", the State accepted that they should be allowed to continue their activities which "ne puissent leur être imputé à blâme, ni préjudice à leur réputation dans le commerce public"¹¹. The Church would seem to have shared this attitude until the last quarter of the century for, until this date actors and their children were accepted for baptism, marriage and burial according to the normal Christian ceremonies. It is in this context that the distinction between two types of theatrical performer becomes interesting. D'Aubignac, himself an *abbé*, overtly identifies the sort of actor objected to in Church doctrine with the lower sort of performer working outside the art of *pronuntiatio*. In his *Projet pour le rétablissement du*

Theatre François D'Aubignac explains that under Roman law it was only the "Mimes et Bâteleurs" who were "declarez infames", while the *comédiens* were accepted as members of society: "les Comédiens n'ont jamais reçu cette disgrâce, aiant toujours été traitez avec honneur par les personnes de grande condition, et capables de toute société civile" (p.349). For D'Aubignac the sort of actor worthy of State and Church disapproval was the pre-Richelieu performer whose lack of art and moral scruple made him the equivalent of the classical mimes. As he explained, actors had been treated as "infâmes" in France precisely because their sort of entertainment "ne recevoit aucune perfection dans l'art, ni aucune correction dans les moeurs" (p.350). D'Aubignac's concept of the new-style *comédien* is therefore directly based upon that sort of actor whom Cicero admired and consulted as a friend, the actor who practised an art of delivery which might serve as a model for that of the orator. The Art of acting in D'Aubignac's terms is correlated with the personal moral standards and social position of the performer, as it was in Cicero; for, without these personal qualities the actor cannot hope to perform with the *bienséance* essential to good style¹². For the French theatre to reach a state of perfection therefore, D'Aubignac argues that it is essential that

actors no longer live "dans la débauche et avec scandale" (p.354), but that the private lives of professional actors be *honnêtes*. For D'Aubignac, to be called a *comédien* one must possess personally similar qualities to those expected in one's patrons, one must personally conform to their standards and code of behaviour both on and off stage. Like the orator the *comédien* cannot hope to become excellent at his art until he has acquired certain intellectual and social qualities. To distinguish the actor of the reformed French stage from his predecessors therefore, he is identified with the Liberal arts, and most specifically with *pronuntiatio*. A measure of the extent to which actors themselves wished to be treated as liberal artists rather than craftsmen is suggested by the fact that after 1620 contracts of apprenticeship are rarely made by those joining a troupe¹³. The young man who wished to become an actor no longer wished to identify himself with the mechanical arts, he wanted to be considered as a liberal artist, with the emphasis on his personal qualities of moral standing, intelligence and education. D'Aubignac's conception of the ideal *comédien* is firmly rooted in this notion of the liberal artist. Thus, having emphasised that the new-style actor must be *honnête* and socially acceptable, he demands that other quality of the liberal artist, a good education.

Part of the reason why French theatre had been so poor according to D'Aubignac, was that "jusqu'ici peu de personnes instruites aux bonnes lettres ont monté sur le Theatre" (p.350). Most particularly lacking in these performers would appear to have been a grounding in the sort of rhetorical training given to the élite at this period. For D'Aubignac goes on to lament that these actors were ignorant because they had no "connaissance des passions" and scarcely any of "la langue Française", and thus they would "expriment imparfaitement ce qu'ils récitent, et souvent au contraire de ce qu'ils doivent" (p.351). To remedy this situation therefore D'Aubignac suggests that talent be sought in provincial troupes and in the "Colleges" (p.355). Candidates wishing to become *Comédiens du Roi* should be examined for their ability to deliver long passages of rhetorical verse (le récit) as well as for their ability to portray the passions, and the examiner must also take account of his moral standards since "personne ne pourra être associé dans une Troupe que par Brevet du Roi, donné sur un Certificat de sa capacité et probité" (p.355). The examiner who went to seek out new recruits in provincial troupes and colleges would therefore "étudier les Représentations des Spectacles, aussi bien que les Recits et les Expressions des sentimens, afin qu'on n'y voie rien que d'achevé" (p.355). The ideal actor, in D'Aubignac's

conception, clearly approximated to the oratorical ideal described in 1651 by La Mothe le Vayer in the following terms: "l'Orateur est un homme de probité, qui dit en bons termes toute ce qu'il veut dire"¹⁴, someone who has specialized in "l'art de bien dire" otherwise known as "la Rhétorique".

By virtue of his concentration on the aesthetics of the reformed French theatre, D'Aubignac offers the most sustained and consistent expression of the Classical ideal of the *comédien*. However all those features emphasized by D'Aubignac, the moral, social and intellectual qualities of the actor/artist and his implicit identification of the art of the *comédien* with the art of rhetorical delivery, may be traced in other writings of the seventeenth century. It is evident that any movement to raise the status of the theatre will involve an attempt to promote the actor as an honorable member of society, with talents worthy of the artist¹⁵; What is special to seventeenth-century French apologists of the theatre is the direct link which they made as a result of their interpretation of predominantly-rhetorical classical writings, between a higher, more cultured style of acting and the style of oratorical delivery. Further investigation of classical theatre during the eighteenth century was to reveal the inaccuracy of this parallel, and suggest that the acting of the mimes might also be

an art¹⁶. For the seventeenth-century writer however the concept of art and artist depended so heavily upon moralistic and social criteria that only the actor who appeared to subscribe to the rhetorically-based ethos of the élite could be accepted as being an artist. Molière, by deliberately seeking to obtain artistic recognition for the techniques and style of farce and popular comic tradition, questioned the facile equation of rhetorically-rooted acting with Art. As his combination of the two traditions showed, it was not necessary to exclude popular acting techniques, such as expression with face, hands or movement alone, from an art of correct, expressive, graceful delivery of poetry¹⁷. Molière's famous criticisms of the style of tragic acting practised at the Hôtel de Bourgogne should be interpreted not simply as an attack on one style of acting, but as a *mise en question* of the established concept of the Art of acting, a concept firmly rooted in the notion of *bienséance*. "Plutôt que du tragique, de pathétique, ou au contraire de naturel", as A. Villiers has said, "il faudrait parler de bienséance, d'un certain code de bienséances conformes aux images que l'on a, ou l'on doit avoir, des actes, des sentiments et du langage des grands"¹⁸. It was this insistence on *bienséance* which favoured identification of the *comédien* with his classical prototype and with the rhetorical tradition of delivery, in contrast to the mime and the more spontaneous, gestural acting traditions. Molière's style of acting

was judged by his contemporaries precisely with reference to the rhetorical ideal of acting. He was criticized for his free use of gesture and facial expression which, in his contemporaries' eyes lowered him as an actor because these were the techniques of popular acting, techniques which were excluded from the decorum of the *comédien*¹⁹. Thus the writer of *La Critique du Tartuffe* (1670) described Molière as:

un bouffon plaisant
Qui divertit le monde en le contrefaisant;
Ses grimaces surtout causent quelques surprises

while Boileau in his *Art Poétique*, Chant III (1674) regretted Molière's recourse to popular techniques in the following manner:

Molière de son art eût remporté le prix
Si, moins ami du peuple, en ses doctes peintures,
Il n'eût point fait souvent grimacer ses figures.

That Molière's style of comedy, both in his writing and his acting, was seen as a threat to the theatrical ideal which the élite had sought to establish is apparent from the following passage from Le Boulanger de Chalussay's *Elomine hypocondre* (1670). Putting the words of his criticism into the mouth of one of the most distinguished actors of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, Floridor, Le Boulanger de Chalussay explains why Molière

was dangerous to Art and Society:

autrefois le Theatre

Voyoit traiter d'égaux l'Acteur et l'idolâtre;
 Et l'un et l'autre alors oprobre des mortels,
 Estoit hay du peuple et banny des Autels
 Mais depuis qu'un Heros, dont nostre Histoire est plaine,
 A purgé le Theatre et corrigé la Scene*:
 Depuis qu'il a chassé les infames Farceurs,
 Tout le monde à l'envy nous caresse et nous loue,
 Et nous sommes tout d'or, nous qui n'étions que boue.
 Mais hélas! je crains fort que d'un revers fatal,
 Nous ne tombions bien tost, dans nostre premier mal
 Et que par le progres des Pieces d'Elomire,
 Nous n'éprouvions encor, quelque chose de pire
 ...Car pour peu que le peuple en soit encore seduit,
 Aux Farces pour jamais le Theatre est réduit.
 Ces Merveilles du temps, ces Pieces sans pareilles;
 Ces charmes de l'Esprit, des yeux et des oreilles;
 Ces Vers pompeux et forts; ces grands raisonnemens;
 Qu'on n'écoute jamais sans des ravissements:
 Ces chefs d'oeuvres de l'Art, ces grandes Tragédies,
 Par ce Bouffon celebre en vont estre bannies,
 Et nous bien-tost réduits à vivre en Tabarins

* C'est M. le Cardinal de Richelieu

(pp.70-2)

Molière's refusal to accept that the code of behaviour and the style of delivery practised on stage should ideally be patterned upon those of the élite to the exclusion from Art of any other style, was not to gain general acceptance until the eighteenth century. Among his predecessors and contemporaries the opinion was that the actor/artist should have a certain breeding which would enable him to deliver his lines in an appropriately dignified manner.

Two plays of the 1630s, Gougenot's *La Comédie des Comédiens* of 1633, and Georges de Scudéry's play of the same title, of 1635 provide some of the earliest evidence of identification of the *comédien* with the rhetorically-based model of excellence held by the élite. As M. Fumaroli has pointed out, "le portrait que Beauchasteau fait du comédien accompli, dans la *Comédie des Comédiens*, de Gougenot, est déjà un portrait de "l'honnête homme" ", while "M.de Blandimare dans la *Comédie des Comédiens*, de Scudéry (II,2), trace de même un portrait du comédien idéal qui tend à s'identifier celui-ci à l'idéal du sage et à celui de l'orateur"²⁰. In both plays the art of acting is overtly identified with the art of oratorical delivery, *pronuntiatio*. Towards the end of Gougenot's apology, the actors Boniface, Mlle Boniface, Beauchasteau and Turlupin (all of whom were based upon members of the Hôtel de Bourgogne troupe at this period) turn to classical authority to justify the validity of their profession. Boniface recalls having read that Aristophanes, Alexander and other good actors of Antiquity had been "recompensez du public" (l.1017); Beauchasteau reminds us that drama was first used to instruct youth in deportment and the military arts (ll.1041-7). Finally Mlle Boniface and

Turlupin justify their profession with the opinion of the most weighty classical authority, Cicero. Their discussion of the actor Roscius indicates very clearly the extent to which the acting ideal of the new French theatre was identified with the art of oratorical delivery. Roscius' excellence is measured in terms of his capacity to teach Cicero declamation and to surpass him in this aspect of oratory and the theatre is seen as a branch of rhetoric, worthy of the orator's study:

Mlle Boniface: ...c'a esté Roscie qui a excellé.
 Il estoit, ce dit-on, natif François:
 c'est luy qui enseigna Ciceron l'art
 de bien reciter un discours et la
 maniere de bien composer ses gestes.

Turlupin: Il est vray, et Ciceron dit de luy au troisieme livre, intitulé l'Orateur, qu'il n'avoit jamais si bien recité une chose que Roscie ne la peut encores mieux reciter. De son temps, les Senateurs alloient souvent voir la Comedie comme des exercices honorables et profitables, tenans ces representations comme une eschole pour apprendre l'art de se bien exprimer

(11.1059-1069)

Later in the century Samuel Chappuzeau was to plead the French actor's cause in similar terms, claiming that preachers could and did benefit from private consultation and general study of actors:

Pourquoy me tairois-je de l'avantage que les Orateurs Sacrez tirent des Comediens, aupres de qui, et en public, et en particulier ils se vont former à un beau ton de voix et à un beau geste, aides necessaires au Predicateur pour toucher les coeurs, dont la dureté veut estre amolie par la chaleur du discours et la grace avec laquelle

il est prononcé²¹ ..

As Gougenot was well aware however there was a major problem about considering the actor in terms of the principles of rhetoric. If a good education, a training in rhetoric were made an essential requirement for the actor, few practising actors of the early seventeenth century would have been able to satisfy this demand. Yet, as Bellerose argued, it was evident that many excellent actors had been recruited from amongst those who had not had the benefit of a liberal education. Formal training in rhetoric was not essential, he explained, provided that the actor had mastered management of voice and gesture and possessed a certain judgement or taste. Although "on sçait bien que le Doctorat donne de grands privileges à l'esprit, et que la cognoissance des bonnes lettres releve les belles conceptions, et ressoult les difficultez de l'entendement", according to Bellerose, "ces parties-là ne sont pas les plus necessaires au Theatre". The theatre he claimed, "n'a besoin que d'une eloquence concertée, qui se peut rencontrer en des personnes de toutes sortes de conditions, pouveu que l'action et la discretion leur soient acquises" (11.200-207). The *avocat* was not necessarily better qualified to be an actor than the *manchand* and, Bellerose argued, women and children often acted better than "de bons Acteurs doctes en la Philosophie

et versez és langues". Knowledge of the diverse backgrounds of the best actors of the period clearly prompted Gougenot to qualify identification of the qualities required in the actor with those traditionally expected of the orator. Although he evidently saw acting and oratorical delivery as branches of the same art, Gougenot emphasised that the training necessary for the actor was not de facto identical with that given to the lawyer, preacher or public speaker. The rhetorical parallel is used by Gougenot to indicate the sort of style and social framework within which acting should operate. Like D'Aubignac however, Gougenot accepted that skill in this particular style of delivery might be acquired outside the colleges.

Monsieur de Blândimare in Scudéry's *La Comédie des Comédiens* (1635) represents a somewhat more idealistic conception of the *comédien*. In the words of this rather pedantic *gentilhomme*, Scudéry expresses the view of those who opposed the theatre on moral grounds as to the sort of actor who would make the profession acceptable. As in D'Aubignac and Gougenot an underlying contrast between an earlier, morally lax, socially and culturally unacceptable sort of performer and a new type of actor with qualities worthy of the artist, runs through Scudéry's

play. To those acquainted with the qualities required of the seventeenth-century French orator in his delivery, it is clear that M. de Blandimare's conception of the art of acting was solidly rooted in the rhetorical tradition. For, asked to describe the ideal actor, M. de Blandimare provided the following portrait:

Il faut premierement, que la nature y contribuë, en luy donnant la bonne mine; car c'est ce qui fait la premiere impression dans l'ame des spectateurs: qu'il ait le port du corps avantageux, l'action libre, et sans contrainte; la voix claire, nette et forte; que son langage soit exempt des mauvaises prononciations, et des accens corrompus, qu'on acquiert dans les Provinces, et qu'il se conserve tousjours la pureté du François; qu'il ait l'esprit et le jugement bon pour l'intelligence des vers, et la force de la memoire, pour les apprendre promptement, et les retenir après tousjours; qu'il ne soit ignorant ny de l'Histoire, ny de la fable, car autrement, il fera du Galimatias malgré qu'il en aye: et recitera des choses bien souvent à contresens: et aussi hors de ton, qu'un Musicien qui n'a point d'oreille... Enfin, il faut que toutes ces parties soient encor accompagnées d'une hardiesse modeste qui ne tenant rien de l'effronté, ny du timide, se maintienne dans un juste temperament: et pour conclusion, il faut que les pleurs, le rire, l'amour, la hayne, l'indifference, le mespris, la jalousie, la colere, l'ambition, et bref que toutes les passions soient peintes sur son visage, chaque fois qu'il le voudra

(11.227-250).

It is not without significance that when in 1635 this play was first performed the actor who played Blandimare, Mondory, himself personally epitomized the ideal he voiced. For Mondory came from the sort of background which would have enabled him to acquire the grace of gesture and correct, intelligent delivery Blandimare describes. Born

of a bourgeois family Mondory's brother became a canon of St. Flour while he himself was at one time an "écuyer et maître d'Hôtel du Roi" ²². Comparison of the terms of praise used by contemporaries to describe Mondory's excellence as an actor with the ideal promulgated by D'Aubignac, Gougenot and Scudéry is revealing. The real actor, like the theoretical paradigm, is assessed in terms of the classical identification of the best acting with oratorical delivery. Just as Mlle Boniface had suggested Roscius to be the model towards which the French actor should aim, so Corneille in a Latin elegy dedicated to Harlay de Champvallon in 1635, described Mondory as a new Roscius, a master of vocal and gestural expression:

Sed tamen hic Scena est, -et gestu et voce juvamus,
 Forsitan et mancum Roscius implet opus,
 Tollit si qua jacent, a toto corpore prodest.
 Forsan et inde ignis versibus, inde lepos²³

(Mais d'ailleurs, la scène est là, le geste et le débit nous secondent, et si l'oeuvre est imparfaite, Roscius la complète. Les passages languissants, il les relève, toute sa personne contribue au succès et de là peut-être viennent aussi à mes vers leur feu et leur grâce)

Chapelain in his letters to Balzac was similarly to refer to Mondory as the "moderne Roscius"²⁴ while Marolles related a court performance of 1640 in the following manner: "les Comédiens excelloient dans leur action, entre

lesquels on avoit vu paroître le rare Mondori, qui n'a point laissé de Successeur, et qu'on eût pu comparer, sans flatterie, au Roscius des Anciens"²⁵.

It is clear both from descriptions of Mondory and from knowledge of his social contacts with Balzac, the Rambouillet salon and other members of polite society, that Mondory was the sort of *comédien/honnête homme* so urgently desired for the new French theatre. Tallemant portays Mondory as something of a *bel esprit*, participating in "de certaines conversations spirituelles chez Giry et chez Du Ryer" and writing passable verse. Significant in light of the classical distinction between mimes and actors which D'Aubignac extended to the French situation, is Tallemant's indication that Mondory "na jamais joué à la farce; c'est le premier qui s'est avisé de cela"²⁶. In his acting as well as his person Mondory, like Roscius, was seen to exemplify the rhetorical ideal. To those familiar with the emphasis on expression of the passions in seventeenth-century French rhetorics, Tristan's eulogy of Mondory's talent for expressing feeling with appropriate, decorous harmony of voice and gesture sounds like a refrain. Like the orator, in order to

move others effectively , Mondory had to seem to be moved himself: "il s'y fait voir tout plain de la grandeur des passions qu'il représente: Et comme il en est préoccupé luy-mesme, il imprime fortement dans les esprits tous les sentimens qu'il exprime". This deep concentration on his subject enabled Mondory to portray passions with gesture, in particular facial expression, and with voice: "les changemens de son visage semblent venir des mouvemens de son coeur: et les justes nuances de sa parole, et la bienséance de ses actions, forment un concert admirable qui ravist tous les spectateurs" (Avertissement à *La Panthée*, 1637). The irony of having the actor playing Blandimare being the living manifestation of the ideal he was expressing cannot have been lost on an audience whose interest in the concept of illusion is so particularly characteristic of the period²⁷.

The desire for a new type of better-educated, socially-acceptable actor who would apply himself to his art with a new seriousness, was to be expressed in theory at the same time as the situation of French theatre was allowing such an ideal to be realized. Although actors' origins and education are notoriously difficult to trace with any exactitude, it is significant that contemporary descriptions

of three of the most famous seventeenth-century French actors emphasize precisely those qualities of personal *honnêteté* which the theorists were propounding: a certain social standing, some degree of education, willingness to study one's art, judgement and grace. Mondory's ability to mix with the *élite* and participate in their social activities, his acceptance and imitation of the pattern of good taste established by this social group, has been observed. Montfleury, whose stage career in Paris began six years after Mondory's in 1638, was similarly to be measured against the rhetorically-based social ideal. It was, and is still accepted that Montfleury came of a noble family and that he had had a good education. In any event, he was considered sufficiently acceptable for his wedding celebrations in 1638 to take place at Richelieu's country-house in Ruëil²⁸. Like Mondory he had been schooled in the literary idiom of the period sufficiently to be able to write a tragedy, *Astrucal*, (Paris, 1647). It was Montfleury whom Molière was to attack in *L'Impromptu de Versailles* (1663) for his bombastic style of delivery, and it would seem likely that Montfleury and his admirers to such extent equated an emphatic, formal style of delivery which, like oratory, aimed to bring out the beauty and cadence of the language, with the best sort of acting. Tallemant's reference to

the fact that Montfleury tried "trop de monstrier sa science"²⁹, and Donneau de Visé's description of his acting "avec jugement" in contrast to Floridor's "air si dégagé"³⁰, certainly suggest that Montfleury's conception of acting was less than naturalistic. By 1663 it would appear that Floridor's less formal type of acting was more appreciated, for even Molière spared Floridor his criticism and Donneau de Visé wrote with approval that Floridor "joue de si bonne grace, que les personnes d'esprit ne se peuvent lasser de dire qu'il joue en honneste homme"³¹.

As part of the process of raising the status of the French theatre in the early part of the seventeenth century then, the actor and his art were identified directly with the classical art of decorous delivery which Cicero and Quintilian had suggested to have been practised and shared by actors and orators. Such a correlation was indeed inevitable given that the new-style *comédien* was required to conform to the standards and code of behaviour of the élite whose personal ideal, the *honnête homme*, was itself rooted in the rhetorical tradition, and who had themselves been schooled in, or had absorbed, principles of *pronuntiatio* in preparation for public and social life³².

The conventions governing the *comédien*'s acting were seen in terms of the *élite*'s code of expression in order to distinguish the new, respectable, literary drama from its cousin, popular dramatic tradition, and to invest the actor with the status of artist. As Chappuzeau's recommendation that the preacher observe and take lessons from the actor suggests, identification of acting with the classical tradition of *pronuntiatio* was conscious and deliberate. The correlation was not simply a function of a rhetorically-orientated culture, it was a willing belief that the standards of excellence which applied to delivery of dramatic verse were identical with those applicable in formal oratory. Well into the eighteenth century the habit of seeing acting, preaching and oratory as branches of one art, which may be referred to as "declamation", continued, as Grimarest's, Poisson's, Louis and François Riccoboni's writings reveal. Moreover in Voltaire's comment on the Classical French stage, "le prédicateur venait y apprendre l'éloquence et l'art de prononcer...l'homme destiné aux premiers emplois de la robe venait s'instruire à parler dignement"³³, lingering traces of seventeenth-century opinion as to the desirability of acting and oratory operating within a similar aesthetic, are evident³⁴.

So far we have examined the evidence which supports and illustrates the extent of seventeenth-century French correlation of acting and oratory. As has been remarked upon already, absence of theoretical writings on acting at this period makes it very difficult to assess the precise effects which such bracketing of acting with oratorical delivery may have had. There are remnants of the earlier principles of declamation in the eighteenth-century writings on acting and delivery which will be examined in chapter three. However, for the most part these writings aimed to suggest new directions and were critical of those elements of acting style which are precisely those that recall the rhetorical ideal: cadenced delivery, concentration on flowing delivery and emphatic vocal effects, the use of the mirror to correct and rehearse gesture. To learn the principles of declamation which governed acting, and which Floridor and Poisson clearly considered to form part of their art, it is necessary to be acquainted with those seventeenth-century French writings which discuss oratorical delivery. Chapter one has provided us with that knowledge, making it possible now to analyse and suggest how the rules and preoccupations of *pronuntiatio* may have conditioned a certain approach to acting in the seventeenth century and may thereby have determined its style. Four major areas of rhetorical

influence on acting may be isolated: the approach to character, the emphasis on and theory relating to portrayal of feeling, the concentration on and management of vocal quality, and the place and understanding of gesture.

Approach to character

A scheme which identifies acting with an art of oratorical delivery will clearly affect the actor's approach to his rôle in certain specific ways. Firstly it will encourage the performer to see his function in terms of effective delivery of speeches rather than as a question of personification of an individual. The art of delivery, as classical authorities and seventeenth-century writers had emphasised, was primarily concerned with expression of emotion appropriate to situation, character and audience. Moreover, in the rhetorical idiom character was seen in terms of certain universal features particular to a certain classification of human types. La Mesnardière illustrates this concept of character in his discussion of the "Vraisemblance ordinaire" which the tragic poet must observe in his depiction of character. Thus a king will be "grave, jaloux de son autorité; meslera la rigueur de Maistre avec la douceur de Pere, et punira severement les manquemens de respect que l'on commettra devant lui". A young

man on the other hand, "sera fougueux, plein d'audace et de vanité, insensible aux bons conseils, ennemi des reprimandes"³⁵. Rapin was to confirm La Mesnardière's principle and to suggest that character should be portrayed according to a pre-established pattern rather than attempting to show individuals in their uniqueness, in his *Réflexions sur la Poétique d'Aristote* (1674)³⁶.

A similar attitude was to be adopted with regard to expression of feeling, the aim being to portray the quintessential nature of certain fundamental human emotions according to the style in which one was working³⁷. The actor approaching the rôle of young prince in the rhetorical manner then, would concentrate on portrayal of the character and his emotions in accordance with his prior knowledge of the universal characteristics of a young prince, and of the passions. Tradition would further shape the actor's portrayal, so that Herod or Hercules would be presented according to accumulated historical and literary precedent. As M. Fumaroli has explained, "la création de type rhétorique n'est jamais un acte jaillissant, *ex nihilo*: elle a pour point de départ un modèle idéal, et des modèles littéraires qui ont déjà donné forme visible et audible à ce modèle idéal"³⁸. Where the Romantic and post-Romantic actor might seek to individualize, to discover the truth and nature of his rôle through sustained identification with his stage-

persona and its situation, the rhetorically-orientated actor would bring to his rôle knowledge of human types, of celebrated historical or mythological figures and of certain characteristic patterns of human behaviour. As will become apparent in discussion of portrayal of emotion, seventeenth-century tragic actors and their audiences appear to have been satisfied with a very general concept of character, concentrating their attention on depiction and arousal of mood and feeling. The extended speeches of "expressions des sentiments" as D'Aubignac describes them³⁹, so characteristic of seventeenth-century French tragedy both reflect and sustained this approach.

A second effect relating to a rhetorically-orientated aesthetic is to be perceived in the degree of awareness both actor and audience had of the actor as artist rather than as a different stage persona. Although accounts of seventeenth-century theatrical performances suggest that sufficient illusion was created to render audiences tearful⁴⁰, it would appear that this was related more to the actor's skill in portraying emotion than to his stimulation to identify with character. The process was seen in terms identical to those relating to

oratory, as empathy (identification with an emotion portrayed), rather than sympathy (more general identification with character). André Villiers speculates that it was on this question of approach that Molière differed from established ideas, for "Molière demande à ses comédiens de se comporter comme s'ils étaient des personnages eux-mêmes". This, as Villiers explains, was original because "l'idéal oratoire de la tragédie... c'est l'illustration de l'acteur qui s'affirme comme acteur. Il cherche à émouvoir comme l'Orateur de la chaire cherche à émouvoir. Il ne s'identifie pas avec le saint dont il décrit la vie. Il émeut sans prétendre être le saint dont il parle. L'acteur tragique, c'est cela aussi. Il va hurler, il va chercher à posséder son auditoire par une manifestation émotionnelle extraordinaire, sans laisser croire qu'il est le personnage"⁴¹. As Villiers suggests, one of the consequences of the rhetorical approach was that the actor would concentrate in certain speeches on forceful portrayal and arousal of emotion. As in opera, recitative or passages of more factual material would be studded with arias of emotion, passionate displays of vocal virtuosity. More will be said about this in the context of portrayal of feeling. One other consequence of this approach on acting style, and one more directly

related to character-presentation will be discussed here: the actor's awareness of self.

It is evident that when the orator delivers a speech one of his major concerns is presentation of self. He will not wish to do anything which might be considered prejudicial to himself; his style of speaking and his use of gesture will be regulated by a certain self-consciousness. Seventeenth-century writings on oratorical delivery suggested how the orator of this period might remain within a decorum which he and his particular audience would find acceptable, by advising on vocal management and a certain range of gestural expression. The actor who approaches his rôle in an attempt to identify with character, to adopt a particular mask, enjoys the privilege of a certain artistic immunity denied the orator. By identifying with character he can set himself in a fictitious world, and allow the stage-medium to isolate him from the place and the moment as a real person. Acting behind the proscenium arch in a darkened auditorium to a seated, self-effacing audience clearly aids this process. The seventeenth-century French actor was denied these advantages: his audiences were keen to

participate in the spectacle, whether by occupying seats on the stage or by expressing their approval or disapproval verbally⁴². Similarly the balance of lighting in seventeenth-century theatres was such that the audience was clearly visible to the actor on stage⁴³. These factors, combined with the identification of acting with an art of declamation, made the actor more conscious of his own identity, of his own relationship with the society in which he operated, to which he performed. Bearing in mind the aforementioned distinction between Molière's probable acting approach as compared with that of his contemporaries on the tragic stage, it is significant that Molière himself made the point that tragic actor, like the orator, was judged at that period according to a scale of social values and did not enjoy the artistic immunity of the comic performer. Advising members of his own troupe on the way they should approach their rôles, Molière explained in *L'Impromptu de Versailles* (1663) that the comic actor should transform himself into another character and should be able to portray even those characters totally different from his own. Imitation or satire of a comic actor therefore was not imitation or criticism of the performer himself, but of the mask he had created. Imitation

of an actor in a serious or tragic rôle however remained true to the actor's real identity:

vouloir contrefaire un comédien dans un rôle comique, ce n'est pas le peindre lui-même, c'est peindre d'après lui les personnages qu'il représente et se servir des mêmes traits et des mêmes couleurs qu'il est obligé d'employer aux différents tableaux des caractères ridicules qu'il imite d'après nature, mais contrefaire un comédien dans des rôles sérieux, c'est le peindre par des défauts qui sont entièrement de lui, puisque ces sortes de personnages ne veulent ni les gestes, ni les tons de voix ridicules dans lesquels on le reconnaît

(sc. i)

Both on and off the stage therefore the serious actor would apply in his voice and gesture the standards expected of the *honnête homme*. To perform well within this system the actor would have to be personally expert in the social graces, to the extent that he might become a model of graceful speech and deportment. In Dorimond's play *La Comédie de la Comédie* (Paris, 1662) one of the characters admires the fact that French theatre is now so well and so suitably managed that "la Comédie" "sert de modelle aux plus honnestes gens" (p.3). Where the Italian actors "prennent plus de licence", French theatre is delightful, *modeste*, with nothing "que d'honneste et de beau" (p.4). Significantly, one of the actresses of this more decorous theatre explains that her skill and grace of delivery are the result of

her contacts with polite society:

...j'ay le bonheur de hanter la noblesse,
Et d'en avoir souvent une honneste carresse;
De m'instruire avec eux d'une bonne action
(p.10)

Although of course there is evident irony in this remark it is clear that seventeenth-century French actors were expected to conform in their deportment and delivery to a pattern drawn from the best society. Chappuzeau, in his *Théâtre François* (Lyon, 1674) specifically identifies artistic acting with the actor's personal absorption of courtly etiquette and manners, and recommends that actors should frequent this milieu so as to be able to develop this quality. Dutch and German actors, Chappuzeau tells us, mount plays "avec peu d'art" because they "ne frequentent jamais ny la Cour, ny le beau monde" (p.57). The ideal situation is the kingdom in which "les Comediens ont à qui faire agreablement la Cour", where their contact with the aristocracy will provide them with the opportunity to learn to "se former aux belles moeurs, et à l'habitude des grandes actions qu'ils doivent representer sur le Théâtre" (p.155). What concerned the serious actor therefore was not that his voice and gesture be true to character but that they should be models of good taste. Where a comic actor might portray an old man in a feeble voice and with rounded shoulders and tremulous gesture⁴⁴ it would be no part of the business of

the actor playing Dom Diègue to convey these things. Only in the eighteenth century was such an interpretation to be permitted on the tragic stage.⁴⁵ The aim of the tragic actor was to convey the idea of dignity and nobility, and to this end he set out to mix with the best society and to form his own behaviour on their manners. As plates 2, 3 and 17 show the effect of this was to make tragic acting static and somewhat mannered. Plate 2, illustrating Molière's parody of Montfleury shows the figure in a statuesque, deliberately noble posture. As has already been observed in chapter one the position of the feet, the balanced grace and curve of the arms and the frontal positioning all obey the principles of seventeenth-century oratorical delivery. Similarly the blown-out cheeks and intent expression of the face indicate the extent to which concentration was turned to the voice, and exploitation of the potential of the text⁴⁶. Plate 3 is in the same spirit, being an illustration from one of the plays in the Gherardi collection of a *comédien français* reciting lines from a tragedy. The stance and attitude of this figure matches that shown in the previous plate and may also be seen in plate 17, Watteau's painting of *Les Comédiens Français* (1709). The central figure here is once more facing the front and adopting a balanced, carefully elegant position. His right hand, clenched tight, suggests

resolution, although the rest of the body and the face show little sign of emotional upset. Beside this figure an actress expresses evident grief or despair in an attitude of equally-studied grace. Her body faces the audience, her shoulders are held down while her head tilts moderately to the heavens at a pleasing angle. The neck is straight and exposed while the right arm stretches out to the side, not rigidly but with the recommended curve at the elbow. To balance it the left arm, adopting a secondary rôle, holds a handkerchief at shoulder-level, neither arm therefore being raised above eye-level nor falling below the waist. Finally the fingers and hand are held in a graceful, rounded posture. These pictures suggest very vividly why it was that eighteenth-century reformers criticised traditional tragic acting as being ostentatiously dignified and formal, and advised against preparing one's gesture and stance before a mirror.

The actor of the Classical French stage was obliged therefore to conceive of his art in terms of an aesthetic of civilised behaviour and deportment as well as of literary dramatic tradition. To perform artistically he had to portray character and display

those qualities required in polite society. It was as important for the actor to be an expert in "l'art de plaire" as it was for him to be able to portray character. Indeed Dancourt's *Épître à Madame de la Dauphine*⁴⁷, probably of 1680, suggests it to be of greater importance than skill in characterization:

En vain sur le Theatre un Acteur temeraire,
Croit se rendre fameux et trouver l'art de plaire,
S'il n'a pas cet esprit et ces airs engageans,
Que la Nature avare accorde à peu de gens:
Si l'éducation secondant la Nature
Ne l'élève au dessus d'une naissance obscure;
(ll. 1-6).

For the tragic actor it was especially necessary that the veneer of civilised, courtly behaviour be acquired. As Dancourt's poem indicates however, this veneer was seen as something more fundamental and more personal than simple copying of courtly manners when portraying heroes:

Il faut pour le Cothurne une âme grande et belle
Qui puisse d'un Heros etre un parfait modele;
Et nul ne scauroit bien exprimer tous les traits
D'un noble mouvement qu'il ne sentit jamais:
Un homme quel qu'habile à feindre qu'il puisse estre,
S'il n'est pas genereux ne peut pas le paroistre:
Ainsi tel qu'on a veû dans la fange élevé,
Sans étude, sans art et de bon sens privé,
Apprentif Maltôtier ou Courtaut de boutique,
Exercer basement son esprit mechanique;
Sur la Scene aujourd'huy superbement orné,
Dans l'habit d'un Heros paroît ce qu'il est né;
(ll. 9-20).

Like the orator then the actor would have to be personally dignified and cultured in order to portray emotion

in a suitably elegant style. The quality of the art depended upon the quality of the artist, making the actor peculiarly aware of his personal moral and physical features. In the art of tragic declamation therefore character is presented as a certain stylistic quality: dignity, nobility, grace, elegance, generosity, rather than as portrayal of an individual. The actor's presence is required to convey these qualities with elegant, dignified language of the noblest style, and stance and gesture similarly conforming to the idea of nobility. Into this noble form individual life might be injected through portrayal of emotion, the actor using his skill to depict and arouse the passions within the range of dignified expression allowed him. The actor of seventeenth-century French tragedy who approached his rôle in the rhetorical manner would aim therefore to create moments of extreme pathos at certain stages in the play rather than to sustain a type of character-portrayal throughout the tragedy as a whole. It remains to examine to what extent audience and actors would seem to have seen tragic acting in these terms during the seventeenth century. Knowledge of the advice on expression of emotion in oratorical delivery further aids such examination by suggesting how these pockets of energy were delivered.

Portrayal of passion

It is clear from writings on the theatre of the seventeenth century that the tragic experience was conceived of as essentially one of portrayal and arousal of intense emotion. Scudéry it will be remembered had emphasised that the actor must be able to depict certain passions at will: "il faut que les pleurs, le rire, l'amour, la hayne, l'indifference, le mespris, la jalousie, la colère, l'ambition, et bref que toutes les passions soient peintes sur son visage, chaque fois qu'il le voudra"⁴⁸. Similarly La Mesnardière saw "les Troubles de l'âme" as being "de l'essence du Théâtre", and advised that the poet "ecrive des choses qui touchent extrêmement, et que l'Acteur les anime par une expression réelle de gemissemens et de pleurs dans les endroits où ils sont propres". The actress who is "scavante en son mestier" will thus deliver "tristes paroles" in the following manner: "si elle scait faire force sur les endroits pitoyables, agrandir son infortune par l'elevation de sa voix, depeindre ses langueurs par l'inflexion de ses tons entrecoupez de soupirs et accommoder son geste, ses larmes et ses regards à ces sentimens lugubres, pour peu qu'elle ait de beauté ...il n'y aura guère de coeurs qui ne soient vivement touchez et qui ne publient encore par des pleurs memes

involontaires que le Poète et l'Actrice sont également admirables".⁴⁹ Two plays on the St Genest theme also reflect this emphasis on tragedy as a business of emotional representation and arousal. Desfontaines' *L'illustre Comédien* (1645) praises Genest's acting skill in terms which recall those of M. de Blandimare:

Genest, cet illustre Comique
A de grace et d'adresse en tout ce qu'il pratique,
Et, au gré de sa voix et de ses actions,
Il peut comme il luy plaist changer nos passions.
(I, i.)

Later in the same play a description of a performance by Genest's troupe similarly emphasises the actors' capacity for graceful expression of the passions:

Que l'accord de leurs voix, et de leurs actions,
Exprime adroittement toutes leurs passions!
Qu'ils savent bien plaindre, ou feindre une colère!
Que l'amour en leur bouche est capable de plaire!
Et que leur industrie a de grace et d'appas
A dépeindre un tourment qu'ils ne ressentent pas.
(III, i.)

Rotrou's better-known *Véritable Saint-Genest* (1647) considers the actor in a similar manner to La Mesnardière and Desfontaines. Like the former's "actrice", Rotrou's Genest has the skill to arouse strong emotion in his audience by displaying it himself:

Avec confusion j'ai vu cent fois tes feintes
Me livrer malgré moi de sensibles atteintes;
En cent sujets divers, suivant tes mouvements
J'ai reçu de tes feux de vrais ressentiments
(11.230-233)

In Genest's portrayal of his rôle the critical comments

of his audience centre upon the passions expressed rather than on the character himself. Genest displays his skill by moving from one passion to another and characterizing each appropriately and effectively:

(Il) Pâlit, frappe du pied, frémit, déteste, tonne
Comme désespéré, qui ne connaît plus personne
Et nous fait voir au vif le geste et la couleur
D'un homme transporté d'amour et de douleur

L'oeil ardent de colère et le teint pâlisant
(11.579-82; 1.1041)

The actor's business was, in Rotrou's terms to "passer de la figure aux sentiments d'autrui" (1.1262), to use his skill and judgment to animate scripted expression of feeling with appropriate tone and gesture. Like the orator however the actor would never allow the act of emotional representation to cloud his judgment and make him genuinely, as opposed to artistically, involved. The performance breaks off in confusion once it becomes apparent that Genest has merged with his rôle. A certain amount of ambiguity exists in writings on acting during the seventeenth century as to the mechanism involved in expression of emotion. The ambiguity existed also in rhetorical theory where it was suggested that the orator must himself be moved to move others. However, as has been seen, emphasis on this principle in no way excluded formal knowledge of characteristic tones and gestural

language.

Since some confusion over the seventeenth-century interpretation of the "si vis me flere" idea may have arisen, it will be useful to discuss this aspect of emotional expression in more detail. In keeping with theories of oratorical delivery of the same period, early criticism of the Classical French stage suggests that the actor has some prior knowledge of the passions and that although identification with the emotion may enhance delivery, it is not a self-sufficient artistic principle. Scudéry had indicated clearly that the actor should be able to portray passions on his face at will; La Mesnardière had spoken of the "actrice sçavante en son metier" who "sçait faire force sur les endroits pitoyables"; Desfontaines of the actor who can "comme il luy plaist changer nos passions". Like the orator, the actor is seen as an artist capable of arousing his audience to particular feelings while at the same time being conscious of his representation and its effect. Indications in the texts of early French Classical tragedies provide further evidence of the conscious, external quality of the approach to emotional portrayal. The lines of Rotrou's *St Genest* referring to depiction of hopeless love (ll.579-82) quoted above contain clear signs of the sort of gestures and tone to be

adopted by the actor. He must look pale, stamp his foot, tremble and "(tonner) comme désespéré". Such scripted indications are characteristic of Rotrou's dramaturgy and would have had a restrictive effect on the actor. For Rotou, as Jacques Morel has explained, "dans ses indications de mise en scène, impose à tel ou tel personnage des attitudes de convention précisément signifiantes"⁵⁰.

The technique was not unique to Rotrou however. Lisandre in Scudéry's *Le Prince Déguisé* (1636) is given precise clues to his style of acting the the first lines of the play:

Mon visage estonné vous marque ma tristesse:
Et je tremble, en voyant en ces lieux vostre Altesse.

Later in the century scripted indications of emotional representation were to become more discreet and more varied, allowing the actor greater freedom and more subtle ways of showing feeling. These formal, external indications of emotion correspond to early attitudes to the art of emotional expression. D'Aubignac, it will be remembered, had lamented the poor standards and lack of art of the pre-Richelieu actor on the grounds that he had not mastered the French language and had "aucune connoissance des passions" (p.351). The actor, to be an artist was required therefore to have some sort of theoretical knowledge of human emotion and its portrayal.

This did not exclude from acting personal imaginative involvement of some sort, any more than it did from oratory, but this was a product of the artistic process rather than a method itself. The Imagination alone risked leading the actor/orator beyond the appropriate and the *vraisemblable*. Tallemant's account of Mondory's "apoplexie sur la langue", resulting from an over-emphatic delivery of Hérode's lines in Tristan's *Maniame*, is significant in this context. For Tallemant explained that "Ce personnage d'Herode luy cousta bon; car, comme il avoit l'imagination forte, dans le moment il croyoit quasy estre ce qu'il representoit, et il luy tomba, en jouant ce roïe, une apoplexie sur la langue qui l'a empesché de jouer depuis"⁵¹. Although D'Aubignac described Mondory's technique for working himself into the "demi-passion" as appropriate, it was not until the final years of the century that writings on acting and oratory began to suggest imaginative identification or personal involvement with one's subject to be a self-sufficient and more satisfactory means of depicting emotion than formal knowledge and prior rehearsal. Moreover D'Aubignac's description relates to the rhetorical approach in that it suggest a form of "limbering-up" based not upon identification with character so much as striking postures associated with certain feelings according to an established pattern. Mondory, it

would seem, succeeded in working himself into a feeling by a process akin to that which he used on the audience. By representing the signs of a passion, he could feel that passion himself:

avant que de parler dans ces occasions, il se promenoit quelque temps sur le Theatre comme rêvant, s'agitant un peu, branlant la tête, levant et baissant les yeux, et prenant diverses postures selon le sentiment qu'il devoit exprimer; ...ce qu'il faisoit, à mon avis, pour s'animer un peu et se mettre au point de bien représenter une demi-passion

(*La Pratique du Théâtre*, p.259).

The seventeenth-century Classical approach to emotional expression by actor or orator depended then upon balanced control of the imagination and intellectual understanding and analysis of feeling. The actor controlled his audience, consciously stimulating certain passions in them at will and by will. A description of an actress in G. de Scudéry's *Almahide* (1661) illustrates the process:

Elle étoit de plus une des meilleures actrices de son siècle et son récit avoit tant de charmes qu'elle inspirait véritablement toutes les feintes passions qu'on lui voyoit représenter sur le Théâtre. Cette aimable comédienne s'appelait Jebar et, comme Abindarrays cherchait à se divertir pour effacer de sa mémoire le souvenir de ses aventures passées, il s'en alla à la comédie où il lui vit jouer le rôle de Sophonisbe d'une manière si touchante et si passionnée qu'après lui avoir donné de l'admiration, elle lui donna de l'amour, qu'après

lui avoir attendri le coeur par la pitié, elle
 le lui déroba
 (V, pp.1536-7).

The aim of the tragic actor therefore was to portray emotion with such skill that he could bend the audience to that feeling. The imagination was seen to play some part in the process of emotional expression but, for the most part, seventeenth-century theorists suggested that it should be a complement to rational preparation and study. There is no question in early and mid-seventeenth-century writings that the actor desirably should so identify with his rôle as to be inspired and sincere in his emotional expression. This extension of the "si vis me flere" idea was to occur to some degree in the later part of the seventeenth century and through the eighteenth century, as chapter three will show, a process culminating in Diderot's discussion of the "hot" and "cold" actors in the *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*. Scudéry, Rotrou, Tallemant, D'Aubignac, Desfontaines, all suggest that expression of feeling by the actor should be controlled and not the result of an imaginatively inspired *lunon*. The most direct statement of this attitude is to be seen in Méré's extended simile relating to the actor in his *Sixième et dernier discours. Suite du commerce du monde*. Comparing behaviour in real life with the depiction of behaviour on stage, Méré repeatedly stresses that the stage passion is but surface appearance and that the actor is not personally, sincerely feeling the emotions displayed:

Je suis persuadé qu'en beaucoup d'occasions il n'est pas inutile de regarder ce qu'on fait comme une Comedie, et de s'imaginer qu'on joue un personnage de theatre. Cette pensée empêche d'avoir rien trop à coeur, et donne ensuite une liberté de langage et d'action, qu'on n'a point, quand on est troublé de crainte et d'inquiétude ... Du reste, je ne vois presque point de si mal-heureux rolle, qu'on ne lui puisse donner quelque sorte d'agrément, lorsqu'on fait tout ce qui se peut pour le bien jouer: le coeur à cela n'est pas moins nécessaire que l'esprit, au moins pour l'action du monde, parce qu'elle a toujours quelque veritable sentiment, et que ce n'est pas une vaine apparence comme l'action du theatre. Celle-là pour être bonne n'a besoin que d'adresse, car ce qui se passe sur le theatre ne veut pas être réel; il n'y faut que du semblant: de sorte qu'un Comedien, qui pour représenter une passion violente, seroit effectivement touché, feroit une aussi grande faute qu'un Peintre qui mettroit des diamans ou des perles dans ses tableaux, au lieu de les y peindre .⁵²

It was only in the last decades of the century that thought on acting, like thought on oratorical delivery began to move towards the idea that imaginative identification and sincere personal involvement might be a better method for expressing feeling than rational analysis and preparation. Almost exactly contemporaneous with Leven de Templeri's advice that the orator "doit tirer de luy-même les passions qu'il veut inspirer à autrui"⁵³, is the following analysis by Bordelon of the business of acting. Bordelon agreed with earlier critics that the actor must be able to represent the passions, but he emphasised that such representation must

be as natural as possible and that, to this end the actor must truly feel those emotions:

Le métier du Comédien est un métier qui a pour but le divertissement des autres, où des Hommes et des Femmes paroissent sur un Theatre, pour y représenter des passions de haine, de colere, d'ambition, de vengeance, et principalement d'amour. Il faut qu'ils les expriment le plus naturellement et le plus vivement qu'il leur est possible; et ils ne le scauroient faire, s'ils ne les excitent en quelque sorte en eux-mêmes, et si leur âme ne prend tous les plis que l'on voit sur leur visage

(*Diversitez Curieuses*, 1699, II, p.357)

As will be seen in chapter three, it was in this direction, towards the idea of sympathetic identification with character and a certain inspired, fervent type of acting that acting theory was to move in the eighteenth century. In reaction to the conception of acting as a sort of declamation and to treatises such as those of Le Faucheur and Grimarest, Louis Riccoboni, Rémond de Sainte-Albine and other lesser writers were to suggest that acting should be concerned primarily with sincere expression of feeling through personal involvement. The rational systematic approach which emphasised vocal qualities was to be replaced by a concept of the actor transforming himself into the fictitious character, of making the character seem real. Where previously the actor had been encouraged to find the appropriate expression by reference to standards of excellence based on style rather than historical or psychological elements, Louis Riccoboni and his

like-minded contemporaries suggested that the rôle be allowed to yield up its expressive power through the catalytic identification of actor with character.

It remains then to examine how the earlier, seventeenth-century approach to the tragic rôle operated, and how it affected acting style. The declamatory method of expressing emotion has been revealed in the treatises on oratorical delivery presented in chapter one. In these we saw that the speaker aimed to bring out the full emotive potential of a text by considering the subject, figures, parts of the speech and passions, and adopting a tone and facial expression appropriate to these various elements. An exactly similar method was to be suggested by Grimarest as applicable to acting. Grimarest's *Traité du Récitatif* (1707) will be examined in detail in chapter three but it is helpful at this stage to include examples he gives of passages from tragedies which should be delivered to show a certain passion. Full details of his advice are to be found in appendix II. Grimarest encourages the actor to render particular passages in particular ways so as to bring out the characteristic passion which is expressed therein. Thus Andromaque's lines:

Ah! seigneur! arrêtez! Que prétendez-vous faire?
Si vous livrez le fils, livrez-leur donc la mère!
Vos serments m'ont tantôt juré tant d'amitié!

Dieux! ne pourrai-je au moins toucher votre pitié ?
 Sans espoir de pardon m'avez-vous condamnée ?
 (III,vi)

were to be delivered in the "voix foible et hésitante" of "crainte" (p.86). Similarly Phèdre's lines in IV,vi, beginning "Ils s'aiment!" and continuing to "approuvait l'innocence" were to be made to express jealousy and were therefore to be delivered in a "voix hardie". Grimarest claimed indeed that only a vehement tone would be appropriate to these lines and "presque tous ceux qui recitent ces vers, en manquent le ton: parcequ'ils ne font pas attention, que toute la scène est proferée par une femme jalouse, qui doit, en se plaignant, exprimer son desespoir par une voix forte" (p.89).

Equally close to the rhetorical approach was Grimarest's recommendation that certain passages should be delivered in certain ways because they contain a particular figure. Thus Achilles's lines to Agamemnon in *Iphigénie*, IV,vi:

Je n'y vais que pour vous, barbare que vous êtes;
 Pour vous, à qui des Grecs moi seul je ne dois rien;
 Vous, que j'ai fait nommer et leur chef et le mien;
 Vous, que mon bras vengeait dans Lesbos enflammée,
 Avant que vous eussiez assemblé votre armée.

being an example of the figure epizeuxis (repetition) would require that the word *vous* be delivered "plus fortement que les autres" (p.104). Grimarest clearly considered that the dramatic text should be made expressive in an exactly similar

way to that recommended to the orator. It would appear that this formal approach to expression was precisely that used by Racine to direct his actors and actresses. It will be remembered that during the seventeenth century it was customary for the playwright in Paris to choose his cast and to attend the four rehearsals which were normally held. Chappuzeau explained in his *Théâtre François* (1674) that it was the business of the author on these occasions to correct the actor's expression, in particular the expression of feeling. The writer "releve le Comedien, s'il tombe en quelque défaut, s'il ne prend pas bien le sens, s'il sort du naturel dans la voix ou dans le geste, s'il apporte plus ou moins de chaleur qu'il n'est à propos dans les passions qui en demandent" (p.96). The playwright presented in the comedy *Le Poète Basque* (Lyon, 1695) saw his function in similar terms and suggested that he note the sort of tones and gestures required:

J'y marquereai les tons, et les mutations,
Les grimaces surtout avec les actions
(I,ix) 54

Racine would also seem to have favoured this approach to the dramatic text, analysing and noting the sort of tones to be used so as to exploit the qualities of his verse to their full extent. According to his son Louis, Racine coached Mlle Champmeslé through her rôles, first by helping her to "comprendre les vers qu'elle avoit à dire", then by showing

her "les gestes" and finally he "lui dictoit les tons, que même il notoît"⁵⁵. Dubos provides an example of the effect of this coaching in his *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719). Racine, he tells us, taught La Champmeslé "à baisser la voix en prononçant les vers suivans, et cela encore plus que le sens ne semble le demander"⁵⁶. The lines in question are from *Mithridate*, III, v:

Si le sort ne m'eût donnée à vous,
Mon bonheur dépendait de l'avoir pour époux,
Avant que votre amour ne m'eût envoyé ce gage,
Nous nous aimions...Seigneur, vous changez de visage!

According to Dubos, Racine recommended that the first part be delivered low so that the actress could shift her tone violently after the suspension and deliver the final five words in "un ton à l'octave au-dessus de celui sur lequel elle avoit dit ces paroles"⁵⁷. The evidence is therefore that Racine gave precise instructions to his performers as to tonal variation and that his taste inclined to the emphatic rather than the familiar. A degree of emphasis was natural to tragic acting in this period and it is important to differentiate between precise use of emphasis, such as that favoured by Racine, and the "emphatic" school of a later period. There is no evidence to suggest that Racine anticipated this movement. However, as J.-B. Racine made clear Racine required a certain declamatory style of his performers and "n'approuvoit point la manière trop unie de réciter établie dans la troupe de Molière". Molière, whose parodies of the leading actor and actresses of the Hôtel de Bourgogne centred upon the emphatic style of their delivery, clearly would not have found it desirable to act in the manner required by Racine who "vouloit qu'on donnast aux

vers une certain son qui joint à la mesure et aux rimes se distingue de la prose"⁵⁸. Where Racine envisaged tragic delivery in terms of the oratorical ideal of "rhythmical prose", as a passage of cadenced, overtly pathetic speech different in sound and emphasis from ordinary speaking, Molière clearly inclined to a contrary view. As was seen in chapter one, Molière criticised the emphatic, and to his ears unnatural style of delivery practised at the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Mascarille in *Les Précieuses ridicules* had praised these actors in an ironic vein for their ability to exploit the linguistic/poetic qualities of a speech: "Il n'y a qu'eux qui soient capables de faire valoir les choses: les autres sont des ignorants qui récitent comme l'on parle, ils ne savent pas faire ronfler le vers, et s'arrêter au bel endroit, et le moyen de connaître où est le beau vers, si le comédien ne s'y arrête, et ne vous avertit par là qu'il faut faire le brouhaha?" (sc.ix). The characteristics of the sort of tragic declamation practised at the Hôtel and valued by Racine were precisely those of oratorical delivery: a certain cadence or harmony, and maximum exploitation of the rhetoric of the text. Significantly J.-B. Racine added to his statement concerning Racine's desire for a certain cadence the familiar rhetorical topos, warning of the danger of too cadenced a delivery.

For Racine "ne pouvoit supporter ces tons outrés et glapissants qu'on veut substituer au beau naturel, et qu'on pourroit pour ainsy dire noter comme de la musique".

The acting style of Mlle Champmeslé, Racine's leading lady, would appear from the limited evidence available to have combined these two characteristics, cadence and emphatic effects. Poisson in his *Réflexions sur l'art de parler en public* (1709) to be examined in chapter three, explained that the term declamation meant precisely a cadenced, emphatic sort of delivery. *Déclamateur*, he went on, was used to refer to "un Acteur qui récite toujours sur un ton emphatique, ce que nous appellons, Chanter" (p.6)⁵⁹. Although by 1709 this style had fallen out of favour, Poisson was willing to accept that it had a certain charm and was particularly the style of those actors and actresses graced with lovely voices: "les belles voix sont quelques fois sujettes à cette sorte de récit, et donnent un peu dans le chant. Cette manière n'étant point trop affectée, ne laisse pas quelquefois de plaire, et d'avoir ses partisans; elle est frapante quand elle est bien menagée, et elle n'est pas toujours vicieuse" (p.6). Poisson relates this style in particular to Racinian tragedy and the delivery of Mlle Champmeslé: "les Tragédies de M. de Racine ont été récitées en partie dans ce goût, c'étoit un peu la manière de cet

Illustre Auteur, et Mlle de Champmeslé, qui charmoit la Cour, et Paris dans Hermione, dans Berenice et dans Phedre, chantoit un peu, si j'ose le dire" (pp.6-7). As Louis Racine was to explain, Mlle Champmeslé established something of a school of actresses in her style, her successors seeking to match her cadenced delivery. However, the actress who had most success with it, Mlle Duclos, had allowed it to become too emphatic and artificial, so giving the impression that the original manner was "enflée et chantante" (p.111). Mlle Duclos, "élève de la Chammêlay...quand elle eut perdu son maître, ne fut plus la même", L.Racine explained, "venue sur l'âge, elle poussoit de grands éclats de voix, qui donnerent un faux goût aux Comédiens"⁶⁰. Lack of detailed evidence such as that provided by Dubos, makes it difficult to assess in what ways Mlle Champmeslé achieved her effects. However it is clear that, encouraged and instructed by Racine, she aimed to exploit the emotive content of her speeches in a manner similar to that suggested by Le Faucheur and his successors. Racine, as Poisson was to explain, lent a particularly lyrical flavour to tragic acting style, Mlle Champmeslé delivering "les Rôles des Tragedies du celebre M. de Corneille excellemment, et dans toute une autre maniere" (p.7).

So far no evidence of the annotated rôles which L. Racine

suggests Racine to have given to Mlle Champmeslé, has come to light. However we do have the manuscript of the sung passages of *Athalie* with notes in Racine's hand⁶¹, Racine's directions as to the way these passages should be sung indicate very clearly an attempt to exploit the full emotive content of the lines through changes of tempo and tone, and it would seem likely that the lost notations of Mlle Champmeslé's rôles followed similar principles. To the first intermède (I,iii) Racine suggested the following: that the final line of the passage beginning "O mont de Sinaï" be delivered in a manner that was "mesuré", and that the opening line of the next passage, "Il venait révéler aux enfants des Hébreux", be sung "gracieusement". Similar indications are given for the penultimate passage of this intermède, the lines "Et si pénible de l'aimer?/L'esclave craint le tyran qui l'outrage;", being delivered "rondement"; the line "Mais des enfants l'amour est le partage." being sung "tendrement"; the following line, "Vous voulez que ce Dieu vous comble de bienfaits," "gracieusement", and the final line "Et ne l'aimer jamais!" being "lent". The other annotations to the sung passages are in the same style, indicating mainly when a line should be sung tenderly, gracefully, slowly or fully(sic). It is significant that the sort of violent tonal shift

indicated to Mlle Champmeslé in *Mithridate* finds a parallel in certain lines of Racine's *Athalie* script. Thus for example the lines "Que du Seigneur la voix se fasse entendre,/ Et qu'à nos coeurs son oracle divin/ Soit ce qu'à l'herbe tendre/ Est, au printemps, la fraîcheur du matin (III,vii)", observe a contrast. The first line was to be sung "lentement, à demi voix" and "doux", the second changing suddenly to a "fort", returning to "doux" and "fort doux" for the penultimate and final lines respectively.

Seventeenth-century tragedy, like oratory, aimed primarily to achieve an emotive effect through exploitation of the text, through tonal variation and suitably emotive accompanying gesture. Grimarest's selection of certain scenes from Corneille and Racine which illustrate where the emotive tones recommended in the oratorical tradition should be applied (appendix II), provides evidence of this approach to tragic expression in theory. To discover the extent to which seventeenth-century tragic actors themselves performed in line with this theory it is necessary to examine parodies of tragedy and tragic acting of the period. Given that no annotated tragic rôles have survived the seventeenth century, these parodies provide unique evidence of the application of the rhetorical approach to delivery on the tragic stage.

The Italian Theatre which gave regular performances in Paris from 1660 until expulsion in 1697, offered an alternative to the deliberately literary, dignified theatre of the élite. Both in their plays and in their acting style the Italian troupe drew upon popular tradition and refused to conform to the "rules" of dramatic writing and acting. As St.-Evremond explained, "ce que nous voions en France sur celui (théâtre) des Italiens, n'est pas proprement Comedie, puis qu'il n'y a pas un veritable plan de l'ouvrage; que le sujet n'a rien de bien lié, qu'on n'y voit aucun caractere bien gardé, ni de composition où le beau génie soit bien conduit, au moins selon quelques regles de l'art"⁶². The Italians represented the sort of theatre and acting which the French Establishment had sought to replace with a classically-modelled drama and type of actor. The differences which French critics isolated in the Italian actor reveal very clearly the extent to which the French *comédien* had become a declaimer, conforming to the rhetorical ideal of expression of emotion through vocal effect and suitably-dignified accompanying gesture. Sorel in 1643 had identified Italian acting with the French farce tradition, describing it as full of "bouffonneries" and relying considerably on purely gestural expression, "comme ils sont fort gestueux, et representent beaucoup de choses par l'action, ceux mesme qui n'entendent leur langage comprennent un peu le sujet"⁶³.

St-Evremond isolated similar qualities in their acting; like Sorel he identified it with the popular style as "la bouffonnerie" which "ne divertit un honnête homme que par de petits intervalles". It was a style which relied much on gesture, movement and mimicry and which failed to conform to accepted standards of deportment: "les Bouffons sont inimitables, et de cent imitateurs que j'ai vûs, il n'y en a pas un qui soit parvenu à leur ressembler pour les grimaces, les postures, les mouvemens; pour l'agilité, la souplesse, la disposition; pour les changemens d'un visage qui se démonte comme il leur plaît. Je ne sçai si les Mimes et les Pantomimes des Anciens ont eu beaucoup d'avantage sur eux"⁶⁴. Italian acting was identified then both with popular tradition and with the classical art of mime, just as the French actor was identified with a certain cultured idiom and the sort of actor whom Cicero and Quintilian considered a fitting model for the orator. Significant in this context are the descriptions of Molière's style of acting which are couched in precisely those terms applied to the Italians. Boulanger de Châlussay's remark, "Il n'est contorsion, posture, ny grimace,/Que ce grand Ecolier du plus grand des bouffons,/Ne fasse"⁶⁵, is characteristic of many which admired Molière's plasticity and agility. Molière refused to accept the rhetorical pattern of acting as the only acceptable form for the French stage, but it was not until the eighteenth century that his campaign for mime and movement gave fruit and "la Pantomime"

became an accepted and integral part of serious acting.

Throughout the Gherardi collection of Italian plays we are reminded of the difference of style and approach between French and Italian acting. The French actor was concerned essentially with elegant, moving delivery of rhetorical verse and operated within the range of *bienséance* considered acceptable for and by the élite. The Italian actor drew upon spontaneous verve and popular tradition, improvising and reacting to his fellow actors' performances, and using his body for maximum comic effect. As Gherardi explained in his Avertissement to *Le Théâtre Italien* (1700)⁶⁶:

Il n'y a personne qui ne puisse apprendre par coeur, et réciter sur le Théâtre ce qu'il aura appris: mais il faut toute autre chose pour le Comédien Italien. Qui dit *bon Comédien Italien* dit un homme qui a du fond, qui joue plus d'imagination que de mémoire, qui compose, en jouant, tout ce qu'il dit; qui sait seconder celui avec qui il se trouve sur le Théâtre... Il n'en est pas de même d'un Acteur qui joue *simplement de mémoire*; il n'entre jamais sur la Scène que pour y débiter au plus vite ce qu'il a appris par coeur, et dont il est tellement occupé, que sans prendre garde aux mouvements et aux gestes de son camarade, il va toujours son chemin, dans une furieuse impatience de se délivrer de son rôle comme d'un fardeau qui le fatigue beaucoup.

Because of their style of acting which identified them with popular drama rather than a refined literary model, the Italians were judged to be "artless" entertainers of little intellectual or aesthetic value. In *Les Chinois*, a comedy written for the Italians by Regnard and Dufresny

in 1692, the contrast between the two styles of acting and the attitudes to each is brought out very clearly. Act IV scene ii centres upon a comparison between the "comédien françois" and the "comédien italien, juxtaposing the dignified, culturally and socially acceptable French actor with his Italian counterpart. Ironically it is Arlequin who portrays the "comédien françois" and who objects to Colombine's description of the Italian actor Octave as "amoureux de profession et acteur sérieux de la troupe". "Halte-là", he objects, "je m'oppose aux qualités; dites bande des Comédiens Italiens, et non pas troupe; c'est un titre qui n'appartient qu'aux Comédiens François". The popular appeal of the Italian theatre is further emphasised by Colombine's comparison between the French theatre and the Italian stage where "les Italiens donnent un champ libre...à tout le monde". Finally Arlequin turns to acting style and illustrates the superiority of the French approach in a passage which parodies contemporary tragic style. What is significant about this passage is that it explicitly identifies tragic acting with expression of particular passions in particular ways. The aim of the tragic actor, like the orator, is to excite certain passions in his audience, he is "le maître des passions... le balancier qui fait mouvoir tous les ressorts de l'âme; c'est un pâtissier habile, qui pétrissant à son gré la pâte

du coeur humain, y insinue tantôt le poivre tragique ou le sel comique...le comédien françois...est un vieux fiacre routiné, qui tient à la main les rênes des passions".

Like the orator whom Le Faucheur had advised to show hatred or anger in a violent, strong, impetuous voice, the French actor, "faisant claquer son fouet"...excite le trouble et la terreur" as he delivered the lines:"Paroissez, Navarrois, Maures et Castillans,/ Et tout ce que l'Espagne a nourri de vaillans" (*Le Cid*, V,i, vv.1559-60). Similarly, where the orator should show compassion "d'une voix fort radoucie et fort plaintive"⁶⁷, the tragic actress would also excite pity by slowing and softening her delivery:

Veut-il inspirer la pitié? Il arrête sur le cul
ses rosses fatiguées:

*N'allons pas plus avant; demeurons, chère Oenone:
Je ne me soutiens plus, la force m'abandonne,
Mes yeux sont éblouis du jour que je revois,
Et mes genoux tremblants se dérobent sous moi.*⁶⁸

Voilà ce qui s'appelle retourner un coeur comme une omelette!

To accompany such vocal expression of emotion the tragic actor, again like the orator, aimed to make his facial expressions reveal the passions:

Et pour faire naître tant de différents mouvements dans l'esprit des auditeurs, il faut qu'un comédien françois soit un Protée qui change de face à tout moment, et qu'il ait l'art de peindre toutes les passions sur son visage.⁶⁹

A further example of the extent to which tragic acting

followed the principles of oratorical delivery in concentrating on expression of emotion through vocal and facial expression, may be seen in another play of the Gherardi collection, Fatouville's *Arlequin Protée* (1683). Parodying Racine's *Bérénice*, Colombine wonders whether she will be able to deliver her lines appropriately, whether she will be able to show her sadness and her love with suitable tone and serious expression ⁷⁰:

Moi, Bérénice! Ha, Dieux! par où m'y prendre?
 Aurai-je un port de voix et languissant et tendre?
 Et puis-je prononcer sur le ton langoureux:
Si Titus est jaloux, Titus est amoureux?
 Tantôt devant Titus il faut que je soupire.
 Mais quoi? Mon sérieux fera mourir de rire,
 Bérénice aura beau pousser deux mille hélas,
 En voyant Colombine on ne la croira pas.
 Mais Titus vient. Rentrons pour prendre un port de
 Reine.

In another parody, *Les Embarras du derrière du Theatre*, published in vol. IV of the 1755 edition of Brueys' and Palaprat's works, the tragic actor's approach to his rôle as expression of feeling, is once again revealed. The play, which was performed in 1691, contains a scene in which the comic actor Mr de l'Etoile discusses with Mr Floridor the way one should play Titus in *Bérénice*. M. de l'Etoile's description of his own acting style in this rôle is clearly intended to be comic, exaggerating to an absurd degree the way Floridor himself played this part. For M. de l'Etoile tells Floridor: "pour vous bien imiter j'ai d'abord jeté nonchalamment un côté de ma perruque, comme cela sur

l'épaule droite...ou sur la gauche: car vous m'avez dit que c'étoit la même chose". As the engraving in plate 59 shows, there was scope to cast the wig to one side when wearing tragic costume. M. de l'Etoile continues to tell Floridor how he showed love and sadness: "après j'ai étendu les bras amoureusement...ensuite, pour varier, je les ai tristement croisés sur la poitrine". The latter is reminiscent of Bary's description of a gesture appropriate in *plainte* (see plate 52). Finally Floridor asks L'Etoile how he delivered "cet endroit de la pièce ou... Paulin ...vient dire que Rome n'entend pas raillerie", "par quelle action avez-vous marqué votre tristesse?" L'Etoile explains that he showed this by putting on his gloves "brusquement" and that "après, quand on m'est venu dire que le Sénat fait l'entendu...je les ai arrachés avec transport, comme ceci". Ironically Floridor replies, "cela est très-pathétique"⁷¹.

Although it is very difficult to draw firm conclusions from the style of acting suggested by these parodies, they do confirm that tragic acting was seen in terms of expression of feeling in a particular, primarily vocal manner and that this brought it close in style to oratorical delivery. So important a part of the art of acting was such expression of emotion considered that by 1685 a new term

had been invented to describe it. Jean d'Aisy in his *Génie de la langue française* (Paris, 1685), explained that the verb *passionner* had recently acquired a new meaning: "Depuis quelques années on dit, *passionner* actif, pour dire *animer, reciter avec ardeur: comme ce Comédien est froid, il ne passionne rien*" (p.119). The *Dictionnaire universel* of Furetière (La Haye & Rotterdam, 1690) similarly accepted this particular usages applicable to the actor's art: "*Passionner*, Desirer quelque chose avec passion...signifie aussi, Animer ce qu'on dit de geste et d'action. Ce Declamateur, ce Comedien se *passionnent* bien, ont une action, un geste bien *passionnés*". Tragic acting in the seventeenth century was marked by preoccupations identical with those found in treatises on oratorical delivery. There is the same focus upon expression of passion, the same concentration on vocal quality and shifts of tone and rhythm as a means of revealing emotion, and the same conception of gesture as a valuable accompaniment to vocal expression provided that it be used with dignity and grace. Rather than speak of tragic acting in the seventeenth century, it would be more appropriate to describe it in the terms which seventeenth-century audiences appear to have seen it, as an art of declamation. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to indicate how this particular, elocutionary manner of envisaging tragic representation favoured the development of the "déclamation chantée" style of delivery,

with consequent attribution to gesture of a dependent rôle.

VOCAL QUALITY AND THE PLACE OF GESTURE

Reference has been made already to the two major effects which the declamatory approach had on tragic acting: the melodic, cadenced flavour of the delivery and the emphatic use of tone. As both P. Arnott and M. Descotes have pointed out, to a large extent these features were latent in the rhetoric of the tragic text itself. Arnott in his *Introduction to the French theatre* (London, 1977), suggests that because French seventeenth-century tragedy was cast in a rhetorical mould, "it was incumbent upon the actor to develop a vocal instrument capable of communicating both the forcefulness of such rhetoric and its delicate nuances". Tragic acting of this period may more appropriately be seen therefore in terms of "an operatic performance, demanding great lung power and rigid breath control". For it was "a style of acting that was largely static and declamatory, a style, by our standards, totally artificial and divorced from the speech and gestures of everyday life" (p.41)⁷². M. Descotes in his study of *Les Grands rôles du théâtre de Jean Racine* (Paris, 1957) has indicated how great the vocal demands on the performer might have been. Examining the rôle of Hermione, he points out that the speeches of this part are characterized by "les contrastes violents...les volte-face, dont le plus marquant est le célèbre "Qui te l'a dit?" " (p.17). From her entrance Hermione's language

is highly-figured with precisely those devices which, according to rhetorical theory, required a raised, emphatic tone. Her second speech of Act II, scene i, although only eight lines long, contains two exclamations, two questions and an example of prosopopoea. Le Faucheur it will be remembered had suggested that exclamations be delivered "d'un accent plus haut et plus excité que le reste", that questions should be delivered in a raised voice and that in prosopopoea the voice should change. Hermione's fourth speech of this scene is similarly studded with emphatic figures:

Si je le hais, Cléone! il y va de ma gloire,
Après tant de bontés dont il perd la mémoire;
Lui qui me fut si cher, et qui m'a pu trahir!
Ah! je l'ai trop aimé, pour ne le point haïr!

Her other speeches in this scene make equally large demands on the actress's vocal powers, in particular her ability to shift rapidly from one tone to another without making the speech disjointed. Thus the speech beginning "Pourquoi veux-tu, cruelle, irriter mes ennuis?", may be made to reveal Hermione's fear and despair merely by exploitation of the wealth of figures and the phrasing which are latent in the text. Hermione is made to repeat the word "crois", presumably giving force to this word, a force which is immediately revealed to be transitory by the exclamation "Hélas!". Hermione's doubt and turmoil is then shown in her question "Tu veux que je le fuie?", after which she

shifts back to a tone of resolve until the suspension after "Fuyons", introduces new doubt. The repetition of the word "si" directs the actress to a build-up of emotion and excitement which is again suspended after "S'il voulait" as doubt returns, "Mais l'ingrat ne veut que m'outrager". From this line on, until the end of the speech, Hermione's lines build up forcefully to the final line, "Qu'elle le perde, ou bien qu'il la fasse périr!" with its balanced opposition and use of repetition and exclamation.

At the same time as tragic declamation would appear to have aimed to bring out the rhetoric of the text and exploit it for pathetic effects, it is clear that an attempt was made to contain vocal variations within a rhythm which ran through the whole speech. Just as M. Langlois had indicated that the style of the law-court owed much to cadence, so, as has been seen, Racine envisaged rhythmic delivery of the alexandrine to enhance the quality of the tragic performance. This aspect of Classical declamation will be discussed more fully in the following chapter in the context of eighteenth-century attempts to reform this style. For the present it will be sufficient to point out that both oratory and tragic delivery in the seventeenth century considered a distinct rhythmic flavour to be a beauty of their art. G. Lote in a series of studies⁷³ has described

the features of seventeenth-century tragic delivery and explained how these were reduced considerably during the eighteenth century. As Lote reveals, it was the caesura which determined the rhythmic flavour of seventeenth-century tragic declamation. In Classical declamation "l'alexandrin consiste en deux membres parallèles ayant tous les deux leur sommet musical, l'un à la sixième syllabe, l'autre à la rime, si tous les deux se terminent par une suspension de sens, mais dont le premier seul répond à cette définition si la fin du vers est en même temps fin de sens". As Lote explains, "le dessin mélodique que cette suspension détermine correspond tout naturellement à des besoins esthétiques embryonnaires et peu raffinés... Cette déclamation, toujours vivante dans le peuple, est aujourd'hui morte pour les personnes cultivées qui se préoccupent surtout de faire prédominer l'expression, et qui sacrifient l'accent du vers à l'accent de la phrase"⁷⁴.

During the eighteenth century tragic dramatists were to try and lower the uniform flavour of this declamation and were thus to encourage actors to convey the sense rather than the poetry of their lines.⁷⁵ For the seventeenth-century tragic actor however part of his art consisted precisely in his ability to bring out the poetry and to follow its rhythms, much as an opera singer might.

Focus on the voice and the strong emphasis on grace and social acceptability in gesture were as much characteristic of tragic declamation as they were of oratory during the seventeenth century. In the following chapter the steps taken to change this conception of serious acting and to render it more physically expressive, will be examined. It is through these reformist writings that the debt seventeenth-century serious acting owed to the rhetorical tradition becomes most apparent. At this stage therefore an examination of the influence *pronuntiatio* exercised over tragic acting will be restricted to a few general remarks. Firstly it is clear that the tendency to see tragic acting in terms of declamation placed a strong social control upon the actor's use of gesture. Like the orator, the tragic actor was required to portray passion in a manner which remained within the tight concept of dignity and decorum. This inevitably favoured a second parallel between oratorical delivery and serious acting, recourse to facial, and particularly upper-facial movement as an instrument of dignified expression of emotion. The seventeenth-century tragic actor, like the orator and by contrast with the popular entertainer, restricted his bodily movements and carefully prepared his manual and facial gesture so as to make it both expressive and graceful.

As in oratory the major tools of gestural expression were the face and the hands, with particular attention being focused upon the eyes and brows. The static frontal presentation shown so clearly in plates 2 and 3 and in Watteau's painting of the French troupe (plate 17), offered the audience the best view of the actor's face and thus gave them the best opportunity to "observe the passions". It may be presumed that the brows were considered by the actor to be an important element in expression of emotion, just as they had been in classical *pronuntiatio* and were to be in Le Brun's treatise on the expression of the passions in painting.⁷⁶ A third parallel between tragic acting and oratorical gesture would appear to have been the acceptance on the stage of the principle that gesture should accompany rather than replace speech. Only in the eighteenth century (largely as a result of the influence of Riccoboni's Italian troupe), did it become a recognized feature of acting theory that physical movement, especially movement of the face, might be more eloquent than words in revealing emotion. By this date of course theatre optics and lighting made it possible for more subtle effects to be perceived by larger numbers of the audience, thus aiding the reform. However the "pantomime" movement of the eighteenth century

was as much a battle against the rhetorical tradition of delivery as it was against theatre conditions. To understand the novelty of the reforms however it is necessary to appreciate the style of acting against which they were reacting. Knowledge of seventeenth-century principles of oratorical delivery, combined with an appreciation of the extent to which the French Classical actor was identified with the art of declamation and the rhetorical tradition, provides the necessary background to such a study. The following chapter, which presents the first theoretical writings by and for actors on their art or on the art of declamation, isolates the new directions indicated for acting from those which had dominated the seventeenth century, and highlights the extent to which the earlier aesthetic had been grounded in the rhetorical tradition.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES TO CHAPTER TWO

- ¹ D'Aubignac, *La Pratique du Théâtre und andere Schriften zur Doctrine Classique*, ed. Hans-Jörg Neuschäfer, Genève, 1971, p.245. All references to D'Aubignac will be from this edition.
- ² Background works which may be consulted on these areas include:
 J. Lough, *Seventeenth-century French drama*, Oxford, 1979.
 S.W. Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Le Théâtre du Marais*, Paris, 1954-8.
 S.W. Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Le Théâtre de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1968-70.
 J. Scherer, *La Dramaturgie classique en France*, Paris, 1950.
- ³ See also P. Burke, *Popular culture in early modern Europe*, London, 1978, and J. Duvignaud, *L'Acteur: esquisse d'une sociologie du comédien*, Paris, 1965.
- ⁴ See also J. Lough, *Writer and public in France*, Oxford, 1978, in which he points out that in the 17th century, "literature was produced in Paris and in the first instance at least catered for the tastes of the court and polite society there" (p.68).
- ⁵ The 1641 edict stipulated that "lesdits comédiens reglent tellement les actions du théâtre qu'elles soient, du tout, exemptes d'impuretés" (Isambert, XVI, pp.536-7).
- ⁶ See Introduction, pp.6-7 and Chapter one, p.24 and p.30.
- ⁷ See Lough, *Seventeenth-century French drama*, Oxford, 1979, p.83.
- ⁸ See R. Chartier, *L'Education en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, 1976, p.154: "avec la re-découverte des auteurs classiques et leur diffusion

- 8 par les impressions s'opère un renversement de l'idéal pédagogique: c'est l'éloquence, la rhétorique qui devient le but par excellence".
- 9 Holmström, *Monodrama, attitudes, tableaux vivants*, Stockholm, 1967, p.13.
- 10 G. Mongrédien, "La Querelle du théâtre à la fin du règne de Louis XIV", *RHT*, 1978-II, p.113.
- 11 Isambert, *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises*, XVI, p.536.
- 12 This is an extension of Cicero's praise of Roscius in *De Oratore*, which Cassagnes translates as follows: "car n'avez vous pas pris garde à cet excellent Acteur, comme il ne fait rien qui ne soit dans la bienséance, et dans la perfection, et accompagné d'une grace charmante? comme il sait plaire, et toucher, et comme enfin il a tant de succez" (*La Rhétorique de Cicéron*, Paris, 1673, p.70).
- 13 See G. Mongrédien, "Les Comédiens de campagne au dix-septième siècle", *XVIIe Siècle*, 38(1958), pp.138-48.
- 14 La Mothe le Vayer, *La Rhétorique du Prince* (1651) in *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1656, I, p.817.
- 15 See M. Baker's study, *The Rise of the Victorian actor*, London, 1978.
- 16 See especially Dubos's discussion of pantomime in chapter three.
- 17 P. Larthomas has pointed out that there are two styles in Molière's use of language, one belonging to the French convention, one to the Italian comic tradition. See his article, "Les Deux styles de Molière", *RHT*, 1974-I, pp.60-2.
- 18 Villiers, "L'Acteur Molière et l'expression du tragique", *RHT*, 1974-I, p.31.

- 19 It is significant that those aspects of Molière's tragic acting criticized by contemporaries would have also conflicted with the advice of 17th century French treatises on management of oratorical gesture. Both Montfleury and Chalussay mentioned Molière's "yeux hagards et de travers", and the lack of grace with which he held his head (*L'Impromptu de l'Hôtel de Condé; Elomire hypocondre*).
- 20 M. Fumaroli, "Rhétorique et dramaturgie dans *l'Illusion comique* de Corneille", *XVIIe Siècle*, 80-1(1968), p.124.
- 21 Chappuzeau, *Le Théâtre françois*, Lyon, 1674, pp.141-2.
- 22 See G. Mongrédien, *Les Grands comédiens du XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1927, p.22.
- 23 Cited by Mongrédien in *Les Grands comédiens*, pp.37-8.
- 24 Chapelain, Lettre à Balzac (22.3.1638) in *Correspondance*, éd., P.T. de Larroque, Paris, 1880-3, I, p.216.
- 25 Marolles, *Mémoires*, Amsterdam, 1755, I, p.235.
- 26 Tallemant des Réaux, *Historiettes*, éd., G. Mongrédien, Paris, 1932-4, VII, p.123.
- 27 See J. Rousset's study, *La Littérature de l'âge baroque en France, Circé et le paon*, Paris, 1954.
- 28 Mongrédien, *Les Grands comédiens*, p.161.
- 29 Tallemant, *Historiettes*, VII, p.126.
- 30 Donneau de Visé, *Nouvelles nouvelles*, Paris, 1663, III, pp.255-61.
- 31 Donneau de Visé, *Nouvelles nouvelles*, III, p.261.
- 32 In this context may be mentioned the important rôle performance of plays had in the colleges as an exercise in the application of principles of *pronuntiatio*. As Quicherat wrote in his *Histoire de Sainte-Barbe*, acting was seen as "un exercice

- 32 sans pareil pour perfectionner la mémoire, la prononciation, le geste" (I, p.258). Particular use of drama was made by the Jesuits and numerous studies have been made on this subject. See for example:
- E. Boyssse, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, Paris, 1880.
 - F. Charmot, *La Pédagogie des Jésuites*, Paris, 1951.
 - G. Codina-Mir, *Aux Sources de la pédagogie des Jésuites*, Roma, 1968.
 - L.-V. Gofflot, *Le Théâtre au collège*, Paris, 1907.
 - J.-M. Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande*, Bern, 1978.
- 33 Voltaire, *Commentaires sur Corneille*, éd. D. Williams, Banbury, 1974, p.830.
- 34 See also le Prince de Ligner in his *Lettre à Eugénie* (1774), éd., Charlier, Paris, 1922, p.120: "Il y avait autrefois deux genres de gloire qui nous ont échappé: l'éloquence de la chaire et du barreau. Ceux qui voulaient s'y distinguer consultaient souvent les grands acteurs de ce temps-là".
- 35 La Mesnardière, *La Poétique*, Paris, 1640, pp.36-7.
- 36 See Rapin pp.56-7: "la vérité est presque toujours défectueuse, par le mélange des conditions singulières, qui la composent...Il faut chercher des originaux et des modèles dans la vraisemblance, et dans les principes universels des choses." p.59: "représenter chaque personne dans son caractère: un valet avec des sentimens bas, et des inclinations serviles: un Prince avec un cœur libéral et un air de majesté".
- 37 See Rapin, p.65: "les sentimens doivent estre conformes non seulement aux personnes auxquelles on les donne: mais aussi aux sujets que l'on traite: c'est à dire qu'il faut de grands sentimens dans les grands sujets".
- 38 M. Fumaroli, "Rhétorique et dramaturgie, le statut du personnage dans la tragédie classique", *RH7*, 1972-III, p.234.

- 39 D'Aubignac, p.395.
- 40 Mondory was reputed to have brought tears even to Richelieu's eyes in his acting of the rôle of Hérode (see Mongrédien, *Les Grands comédiens*, p.55).
- 41 Villiers, "L'Acteur Molière et l'expression du tragique", *RH7*, 1974-I, p.50.
- 42 See first scene of *Les Fâcheux*, ll.13-34.
- 43 See G. Bergman, *Lighting in the Theatre*, Stockholm, 1977.
- 44 See Grimarest's remarks in appendix II on the tones appropriate to "Le Vieillard".
- 45 Larive in his *Cours de déclamation* published in 1810 pointed out that Dom Diègue's tirade in I, v, demanding to be avenged, would leave an old man breathless at the end. This he suggested the actor should do (II, p.55).
- 46 F. Riccoboni was to explain the mechanism involved in the production of vocal emphasis in his *Art du Théâtre* (1750) p.17.
- 47 A. Blanc, "Sur trois textes de Dancourt", *XVIIe Siècle*, 112(1976), pp.46-57.
- 48 G. Scudéry, *La Comédie des Comédiens*, Paris, 1635, ll.247-50.
- 49 La Mesnardière, *La Poétique*, pp.73-87.
- 50 J. Morel, *Jean Rotrou, dramaturge de l'ambiguïté*, Paris, 1968, p.279.
- 51 Tallemant, *Historiettes*, VII, p.124.
- 52 A.-G. de Méré, *Oeuvres complètes*, p.p. Boudhors, Paris, 1930, III, p.158.

- 53 Leven de Templeri, *La Rhétorique française*, Paris, 1698, p.88.
- 54 It is unfortunate that no such annotated rôles have survived from the seventeenth century. This play confirms however that Racine's technique of coaching La Champmeslé was not unique.
- 55 L. Racine, *Mémoires*, Paris, 1747, p.112.
- 56 Dubos, *Réflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture*, 6e éd., Paris, 1755, III, pp.142-3.
- 57 Dubos, III, p.143. A further example of the application of this shift-technique may have been in *Bénénice*, IV, v :
- Je n'écoute plus rien: et, pour jamais, adieu...
Pour jamais!
- 58 J.-B. Racine, "Quelques particularités sur Mr Racine", *Cahiers Raciniens*, 1957-9, p.63.
- 59 Compare this definition with those in appendix V which show how the word came to acquire progressively derogatory connotations.
- 60 L. Racine, *Mémoires*, p.111.
- 61 *Chants de la tragédie d'Athalie de la main de Racine*, ms. 66, Bibliothèque municipale de Versailles.
- 62 St.-Evremond, *Oeuvres en prose*, éd., R. Ternois, Paris, 1962-9, III, p.48.
- 63 Sorel, *La Maison des jeux*, Paris, 1643, p.445.
- 64 St.-Evremond, *Oeuvres en prose*, III, pp.49-50.
- 65 Boulanger de Chalussay, *Elomine hypocondre*, Paris, 1670, p.13.
- 66 Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien*, Amsterdam, 1700, I, p.4.
- 67 Le Faucheur, p.116.

- 68 *Phèdre*, I, iii, ll.153-6.
- 69 Gherardi, *Théâtre Italien*, IV, p.208.
- 70 Gherardi, *Théâtre Italien*,
- 71 Brueys et Palaprat, *Théâtre*, Paris, 1755, IV, p.169.
- 72 See also P. France, *Racine's rhetoric*, pp.241-3:
 "In this greater differentiation of character through language and in the power of his rhetoric to give a realistic expression to emotion, Racine can be seen then as a champion of the theatre of verisimilitude...At the same time Racine's theatre is clearly not realistic. His alexandrines are not to be spoken as if they were prose... emotion is heightened by being given a musical form, where song-like patterns and noble tropes combine to create in us a poetic emotion which is far removed from that of Diderot's *drame*".
- 73 G. Lote, "La Césure dans l'alexandrin français", *Revue de Phonétique*, III (1913), pp.221-57.
 "Voltaire et la déclamation théâtrale", *Mercure de France*, CLIII (1922), pp.669-85.
Histoire du vers français, Paris, 1951.
- 74 G. Lote, "La Césure dans l'alexandrin français", pp. 228-9.
- 75 Prévile in his *Réflexions sur l'art du comédien* was to give the following rule which presumably applied throughout his stage career (1753-99): "L'opinion est fixée depuis long-temps sur le mode de réciter la tragédie. La première loi pour l'acteur est d'oublier le rythme...les repos sont déterminés dans les vers que par le sens, et non par le nombre des syllabes" (*Mémoires*, p.118).
 See also the prologue to Landois's "tragédie en prose", *Silvie*, Paris, 1742, in which one of the characters claims that the dramatist "a même recommandé aux Acteurs de ne pas sortir du ton familier" (p.7).
- 76 See Le Brun, *Conférence sur l'expression générale et particulière*, Amsterdam, 1698 in which it is recommended that the brows be dropped from forehead to cheeks, a positioning which may be seen in plates 45, 46, 16 and 35.

CHAPTER THREE

THE EMERGENCE OF ARTS OF ACTING IN FRANCE 1700-1750

At any given period acting theory must in part follow the general aesthetic of the day. Examination of attitudes to actors and acting during the period 1630-1700 confirms that, in the absence of any specific aesthetic of the stage-art, and in common with other artists and arts, the socially-acceptable French actor and serious acting were seen purely in terms of the aesthetics of classical rhetoric. The actor was identified with those classical prototypes praised in rhetorical theory for their elegant, decorous style of performance which further recommended them as models for oratorical delivery. Although direct documentary evidence of the overlap between seventeenth-century acting theory and theories of oratorical delivery, such as Floridor's missing manuscript might have provided, is lacking for the seventeenth century, during the early decades of the following century such data becomes available. This material is of two types, firstly writings such as those of Grimarest and Poisson which accept and extend the principles of *pronuntiatio* seen in the writings presented in chapter one, to actors and acting. Secondly writings which, adopting the anti-rhetoric, anti-prescriptive approach observed in such oratorical theorists as Gauchies and Fénelon, rejected the systematic code of Classical declamation and re-aligned its principles with a new aesthetic which placed greater emphasis on sympathetic identification and a wider, freer range of expression, especially gestural expression. Representative of this group are Louis Riccoboni's

thoughts on acting and declamation, Rémond de Sainte-Albine's *Le Comédien* (1747) and François Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre* (1750). Study of both types of theorizing in the light of knowledge of seventeenth-century theories of oratorical delivery makes it possible to assess the extent to which serious acting had subscribed to these principles, and was to reject or diverge from them during the eighteenth century. The critical spirit which inspired these first theories of acting also produced more discriminating, analytical descriptions of individual actors and theatrical conditions, material which may be usefully applied in interpreting and complementing theoretical writings. The following chapter aims to highlight the debt of acting to rhetorical theory and to trace the development of a separate art of acting in the eighteenth century, a broadly chronological presentation being adopted to underline this evolution.

A BRIEF BACKGROUND TO PARISIAN THEATRE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

By the eighteenth century theories of acting were rooted in the experience of theatre itself, the ideas of the writer being based upon his knowledge and appreciation of performances. The advice Grimarest gave on delivery of particular lines from Racine and Corneille (see appendix II), was derived from his own personal experience and enjoyment

of late-seventeenth-century acting. Similarly Poisson's acceptance of certain rules of classical *pronuntiatio* was directed as much by his personal knowledge of their application on the professional stage as by his desire to lend to acting the weight and dignity of classical authority. However personal experience need not be accepted by the theorist as a paradigm; Louis Riccoboni, Rémond de Sainte-Albine and François Riccoboni were to base elements of their arguments on personal acquaintance with a style of theatre they found unsatisfactory, and in need of reform. Some time between 1707 and 1727 a transformation of theatrical sensibility took place which made the acting style of an earlier period unacceptable. This transformation is reflected in the theories of acting to be examined in this chapter but these are not the only indications of a changing aesthetic. The dramaturgy, stage conditions, costumes, lighting and styles of individual performers provide equally valuable evidence of the new direction which was being taken by French theatre in the eighteenth century. It is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis to analyse such developments in detail, but since these aspects to some extent moulded the thought of the theorists to be discussed in this chapter, it will be useful to highlight certain features of early eighteenth-century theatre.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century it is clear that the style of tragedy produced in the second half of the previous century was losing popularity. Where sixty-three new tragedies had been performed in the period 1660-1675 only twenty-five were staged in the years 1689-1700¹. Moreover the genre was changing, developing away from the Classical emphasis on spoken "action" towards those characteristics of eighteenth-century tragedy, described by Jacques Truchet, as "l'accentuation du romanesque et du pathétique, la recherche de la violence et du grand spectacle"². This tendency to inject tragedy with spectacular elements may be traced back to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. As Leo Las Gourgues has pointed out, in the tragedies of La Grange-Chancel, Campistron, Boyer and La Chapelle, the action shifts from psychological motivation to intrigue: "les incidents extérieurs ne servant plus à mettre en évidence soit la volonté du héros, soit son caractère, forment la trame même de la tragédie". There is something of a return to the style of the tragi-comedy of the 1640s as "tous les procédés romanesques sont mis en oeuvre: déguisements, incognitos, reconnaissances, lettres, naufrages, rébellions, etc."³. The tendencies of this period were confirmed in the eighteenth century as Crébillon, La Motte and Voltaire attempted to invigorate the tragic tradition with more visually powerful elements. In Crébillon's tragedies, as F. Gaiffe has observed, "on trouvera déjà...l'origine des traditions

fâcheuses qui se sont obstinément imposées à tous les essais de rénovation dramatique tentés au dix-huitième siècle". Continuing the tendency of late seventeenth-century dramatists, in Crébillon "l'étude des nuances du sentiment passe au second plan pour faire place aux complications de l'intrigue, aux incidents romanesques, aux péripéties terrifiantes et aux dénouements horribles"⁴. La Motte similarly sought to reinvigorate tragedy with spectacle, advising the tragic dramatist to stage those actions traditionally narrated: "Combien d'actions qu'on dérobe au spectateur, sous prétexte de règles, pour ne les remplacer que par des récits insipides en comparaison des actions mêmes. Mettez les actions à la place des récits"⁵.

Voltaire's experiments with the tragic genre also took the direction of increased spectacle but in a manner which effected something of a compromise with the tradition of Classical tragedy. What Voltaire attempted was to render the genre more powerful, to give it an energy and force which the Racinian model had dampened. His criticism of an excessive preoccupation with love and "galanterie"⁶, his admiration of the "force" and "énergie" of English tragic verse and his desire to make French tragedy more visually appealing, as English tragedy was⁷, indicate Voltaire's dissatisfaction with the style of his dramatic

heritage. In the staging of his tragedies, in his advice to actors and actresses as much as in the style of his tragic verse⁸, Voltaire rendered the genre more stunning both visually and vocally. Technical changes in the style, content and staging of tragedy in the early eighteenth century are symptomatic of the change in sensibility which was to make Louis Riccoboni attack emphatic, cadenced delivery and demand from the actor more varied expression in a style closer to that of ordinary speech. However they may also be seen as causal elements in the development of a new approach to tragic acting. The shorter units, suspended speech and stage directions of Voltairean tragedy inevitably conditioned a style of acting different from that required by the Cornelian tirade⁹. Similarly changes in the type of set used on the tragic stage indicate a move towards the sort of naturalism which was to be advocated by reformers of acting. The more picturesque staging of Voltaire's *Sémiramis* (1748), and the "Chinese" costumes of *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755), were but the tip of an iceberg which had been accumulating since the beginning of the century. In 1702 Ferrier's tragedy *Montézume* had been staged with a new lavishness of costume and set and a genuine attempt to convey the local colour of its Eastern setting¹⁰. Three years later Nadal's *Saul* was to contain a scene in which the ghost of the prophet Samuel was to be suggested by

a voice from the trap¹¹. By 1719 tragic staging at the Comédie-Française had developed away from the "palais à volonté" set of the middle years of the seventeenth century. When Racine's *Iphigénie* was staged in 1719 it was with a new set which attempted to create on stage a more naturalistic picture of the events. Agamemnon was shown in the first scene as waking in his tent, the tent being lit individually as a set-piece while the rest of the stage was in semi-darkness¹². Compared with the all-purpose staging and lighting of the previous century this was a striking piece of realism anticipating the development of the "picture" stage and the corresponding "fourth wall" style of acting. A more spectacular staging invited a more spectacular style of acting, and as the set became more of a self-contained picture, so the distance between actor and audience increased and provided him with greater artistic freedom. An indication of the extent to which the early eighteenth-century actor moved away from a social code of *bienséance* and allowed his expression to be regulated by the demands of the text and situation, is provided by Nadal's description of the aforementioned scene from his tragedy, *Saul*. The actor Sallé forsook the exigencies of grace and concentrated upon expressing his intense fear on seeing the ghost. So revolutionary was this willingness to express forcefully without an attempt to *plaire* that, as Nadal himself explained, it was necessary

for the actress accompanying Sallé in this scene to use all her charm and beauty to attenuate it:

la première représentation de cette Scène a été l'époque d'un coup de Théâtre, j'ose dire des plus éclatans, entre le célèbre Sallé, et la Demoiselle Desmares, aussi bien que la perfection de leur jeu: l'actrice eut besoin de toutes ses graces et de toute sa beauté pour ne pas faire peur; l'altération des traits de Sallé, et sa terreur ont laissé au Théâtre des tons de tradition, qu'on y respecte encore ¹³.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century therefore there is evidence of willingness on the part of French tragic actors to sacrifice the oratorical ideal of graceful, dignified expression in keeping with a social imperative, for the more charged style which some twenty years later was to be associated with English acting of Shakespeare. While it is unwise to overemphasise this movement towards a wider range of voice and gesture given that it did not proceed in progressive sequence, it is important to take account of the cross-influence of developments in dramatic technique and staging on acting style.

Before turning to the critical writings on acting, a few lines should be given to some of the individuals who made up the troupe of the Comédie-Française in the opening years of the century. War, economic depression and an ageing

monarch, combined with the anti-theatre attack and the death or retirement of leading performers, had left the Parisian stage with a troupe of only mediocre quality. In a letter of December 1694 the Duchesse d'Orléans explained that "depuis que les prêtres prêchent avec tant d'acharnement contre les comédiens, on trouve moins de bons acteurs qu'auparavant"¹⁴. Five years later the Swedish attaché in Paris, Daniel Cronstrom expressed a similar opinion to the Count Tessin: "c'est beaucoup dire que quatre bons acteurs dans une troupe; à peine y en a t-il autant dans celle de Paris qui est de vingt cinq"¹⁵. Mlle Champmeslé had died in 1698; Baron who had succeeded to Floridor's rôles in 1674, had retired from the stage in 1691 and was not to return until 1720. La Champmeslé's husband Charles, who in 1685 had interpreted the rôles of Dom Diègue (*Le Cid*), Auguste (*Cinna*), Timagène (*Rodogune*), Phocas (*Héraclius*) and Galba (*Othon*) among others, had died in 1701. Mlle Beauval, the original Nicole who from 1673 had played leading tragic rôles, retired in 1704. Replacements for these distinguished performers were not easy to find and from 1691 until 1720 a succession of provincial actors were tried, rejected or only temporarily enlisted. Pierre Trochon de Beaubourg, a provincial actor of 36 had been accepted to replace Baron in 1692, while

Marie-Anne de Châteauneuf, Mlle Duclos, succeeded La Champmeslé and from 1700 shared the stage with Charlotte Desmares¹⁶. Tradition has it that Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos were responsible for the reappearance of the type of rhetorical declamation described by Voltaire as "la mélodie théâtrale"¹⁷. However, contemporary critics of Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos were by no means as openly and completely hostile to the style of these performers' acting as is frequently suggested. Nor did they imply that a complete break had been made with the declamatory style at some stage in the late seventeenth century and that Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos had reverted to this style in a somewhat artificial manner. Boindin in his *Lettres historiques sur tous les spectacles de Paris* (1719) had been critical of Beaubourg, describing the way he delivered his lines as "plûtôt un chant qu'une déclamation", but he added that this did not prevent him from having "des tons forts touchans et qui alloient jusqu'au coeur" (p.42). Taste was changing and the style of Classical declamation as practised by Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos was ceasing to have the sort of universal appeal it had once enjoyed. However, alongside hostile critics such as Lesage¹⁸, there were others who appreciated and approved of Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos. A pamphlet which has been attributed to Voltaire,

Sentimens d'un Spectateur françois sur la nouvelle tragédie d'Inès de Castro (Paris, 1729), praised Mlle Duclos for the "pathétique tendre et touchant" with which she performed and which successfully compensated for the fact that "on luy reproche de crier un peu" (p.11). Nadal was yet more appreciative, praising Mlle Duclos for her interpretation of Salmone in his play *Antiochus*. What he admired in Mlle Duclos and Mlle Desmares was precisely what the reformers contested: a style of acting based upon tradition and studied grace, a style which the reformers were to claim as mechanical and mannered. For Nadal however and, in his own words "la plus saine partie (du Public), dont le jugement ne peut être combattu par ceux qui mettent le goût de la déclamation au rang des modes", the traditional Classical style of declamation was perfect:

Cette expression si vive des passions, qui s'est formée avec la gloire des Corneilles et des Racines, ces tons reglez sur les avis, ou plutôt sur les inspirations de ces deux grands Poètes, et consacrez, pour ainsi dire, sur la Scene, ont passé, par une heureuse tradition, jusqu'aux Actrices que je viens de nommer, et les graces, la vérité et la précision qu'elles ont jettées dans leur jeu, chacune avec des dons du Ciel tout differens, ont achevé le modèle de la déclamation 19.

A manuscript in the *Portefeuille Bachaumont* (Bibl. de l'Arsenal, Paris), confirms that Mlle Duclos' style of acting, although more heavily cadenced than might have been

desired, was not without its charm. Mlle Duclos, the writer claimed, "nous a fait illusion et nous a tous enchantez" despite the fact that "à y regarder de prez, sa déclamation n'était point naturelle; c'était une espèce de chant, presque toujours le même". What saved her acting from seeming artificial however was "une manière d'entrailles et de sentiment d'un ton assez majestueux et imposant". Beaubourg and Mlle Duclos represent the last performers of the style made successful by Montfleury and Mlle Champmeslé, and it was not until 1720 that an alternative to the grand tragic manner was presented by Baron and his "nuova maniera" as Louis Riccoboni's wife was to describe it²⁰, and by the less forceful style of Mlle Lecouvreur.

While there were still those who favoured the style of tragedy and tragic acting of the Classical tradition, the seventeenth-century tragic formula was ceasing to hold its attraction for audiences of the early eighteenth century. Dissatisfaction with the sort of delivery practised by Montfleury and Mlle Champmeslé was the logical corollary to dissatisfaction with the tragic genre as a whole. Between 1680 and 1716 only 91 of the 298 new plays produced in Paris were tragedies²¹, and by 1712 the *comédiens* were so reluctant to perform tragedy that a ruling had to be passed compelling them to do so²². Audience numbers began to fall noticeably

in the final years of Louis XIV's reign and continued to decline from 1715-1750²³. The new theatre to which the Comédie-Française had moved in 1689 (rue des Fossés St. Germain des Prés), had a capacity of 1,300 but the average house in the first half of the century was only 402. Most popular was comedy, in particular the one-act comedy of light entertainment²⁴. Evidently this was not the type of audience most inclined to appreciate tragic declamation in the Classical style. The period 1700-1750 represents a watershed in the history of French theatre, a period of experimentation in dramaturgy, staging and acting, and a period which saw significant changes in the social level and taste of theatre audiences.

The appearance of theoretical works on the art of acting between 1700 and 1750 corresponds therefore to a period of intense theoretical discussion which questioned established theatrical traditions and suggested new directions for French drama. The works to be considered in this chapter range from "arts" of acting to critical analyses of contemporary acting techniques indicative of taste in acting style. It should be made clear however that these early eighteenth-century writings are not the equivalent of actors' handbooks in the sense that there is evidence of their having been used to train professional actors of the period. The works of Grimarest, Poisson, Louis

Riccoboni, Rémond de Sainte-Albine and François Riccoboni were motivated either by a desire to improve contemporary standards of acting or by awareness of a wider interest in acting among the reading public. Nevertheless all the above-mentioned writers had direct experience of the professional theatre in Paris and this is reflected in both the general aesthetic and the particular principles which they propound. The works of the first two decades (Grimarest and Poisson) reveal an implicit acceptance of acting as a branch of *pronuntiatio*, with a corresponding willingness to apply principles and techniques of *pronuntiatio* to acting and vice versa. New horizons are opened for both acting and oratorical delivery by Louis Riccoboni from 1728. Basing his advice upon his experience as an Italian actor, Riccoboni released the grip which classical rhetoric had exercised on both types of delivery and began to examine each from an empirical point of view, suggesting principles more directly relevant to the practical requirements of acting and oratory. As a result, acting theory moved away from the idea of declamation, of acting as vocal expression reinforced by suitably graceful body-language, towards the concept of acting as character impersonation, with all that that implied of greater concentration on personal identification, on transformation and loss of self-identity and on plasticity of gestural expression.

GRIMAREST AND THE *TRAITE DU RECITATIF* (1707)

Although throughout the period 1630-1700 the art of serious acting had been identified with principles of *pronuntiatio*, it was not until 1707 that a written theory extending these principles to the art of acting appeared. Jean-Léonor Le Gallois, sieur de Grimarest (1659-1713), was the first writer to take the traditional identification of actor and orator to its logical conclusion and use the advice of Le Faucheur and Bary as a basis for an "art" of acting. Like Le Faucheur and Bary, Grimarest had been stimulated to produce the *Traité du récitatif* by his dissatisfaction with contemporary standards of acting and his belief that systematic prescriptive rules could serve as a means of improving such standards. In his *Vie de M. de Molière* (1705) Grimarest had criticized contemporary acting, a criticism which was itself attacked and which led Grimarest to re-defend his position in an *Addition à la vie de M. de Molière* (1706). Grimarest's critic had claimed that he had an imperfect knowledge of "les principes" of acting, which, according to the critic, were "le bon sens, une belle voix, et de beaux gestes"²⁵. Grimarest countered this attack by claiming that these were precisely the qualities lacking in contemporary acting and that it was his critic who lacked depth of understanding. According to Grimarest, his critic was only superficially familiar

with the principles of acting or what Grimarest interpreted as the principles, "cette partie de la Rhetorique qui regarde l'action" (*AVM*, p.162). So completely did Grimarest identify principles of acting with principles of *pronuntiatio* that he defined the business of acting in the following terms:

Le Comédien doit se considérer comme un Orateur, qui prononce en public un discours fait pour toucher l'Auditeur. Deux parties essentielles lui sont nécessaires pour y réussir: l'accent et le geste. Ainsi il doit étudier son extérieur, et cultiver sa prononciation, pour savoir ce que c'est que de varier les accens, et de diversifier les gestes à propos

(*AVM*, pp.162-3).

Moreover, like Le Faucheur and his followers Grimarest believed that delivery could be guided by particular rules based upon the parts, passions, figures and characters introduced on stage: "je conviens qu'une voix sonore et une flexibilité de corps, que nous tenons de la nature, donnent un grand avantage à l'Acteur. Mais il y a des règles pour les conduire, selon les parties qui composent la Piece, selon les passions qui y regnent, selon les figures qui l'embellissent, selon les personnages qu'on introduit sur la scène. Que l'Acteur lise les préceptes qu'on nous a donnés sur la declamation, qu'il les exécute, il touchera le Spectateur" (*AVM*, p.163). It was this Classical faith in the value of time-honored precepts which led Grimarest to compose his *Traité du récitatif* in 1707. To those familiar with seventeenth-century writings on oratorical delivery it is clear that Grimarest, despite his claim that the works of Le Faucheur

and Bary were "imparfaits, et d'un goût différent de celui dont on veut s'instruire aujourd'hui" (7R, p.xxvii), drew both principles and method of presentation from these sources. The interest of the *Traité du récitatif* lies precisely in this transposition of principles of oratorical delivery to the business of acting, and their enrichment with particular advice more especially relevant to the theatre. Grimarest shows us how *phonètiatio* might be applied to acting, and provides us with valuable examples from Racine and Corneille to illustrate principles of tonal expression. In addition Grimarest expands the traditional corpus of precepts with more detailed advice on punctuation and with suggestions as to the variations required according to character. However before examining Grimarest's treatise in detail, it should be pointed out that his approach was in no way typical of his period nor indeed was it accepted by his contemporaries as appropriate. Grimarest's advice was that of a cultured writer with a particular interest in the theatre, as the editor of the 1740 edition of the *Traité du récitatif* explained:

Mr de Grimarest qui avoit du talent pour la déclamation récitait souvent chez lui des Pièces de Theatre avec des amis choisis et qui n'aimoient pas moins que lui cette agréable occupation. Cette espèce d'Ecole étoit d'autant plus propre à former le goût, et à le fixer, qu'on y joignoit à la connoissance des regles et à de judicieuses réflexions, les lumières acquises par l'usage dans le commerce du beau monde, et qu'on y évitoit les deffauts remarqués dans la declamation des Orateurs et autres personnes qui parloient en public: c'est de cette

pratique instructive que Mr. de Grimarest a tiré
des preceptes décidés
(pp.x-xi)²⁶.

The *Traité du récitatif* was to become influential in the eighteenth century but it was neither representative of an established approach to acting nor welcomed universally as a method of training professional actors. The current of thought which modelled writings on acting between 1700 and 1750 was away from Grimarest's systematic rules and towards a theory of expression based upon sympathetic identification and individual nuances. For Lévesque de la Ravallière writing in 1729, the rules contained in treatises on declamation were of minimal value, the important quality of an actor was his artistic temperament:

Les traités de la Déclamation, tels que nous les avons, expliquent les avantages de l'action; ils enseignent quand et à quels momens le Declamateur doit être hardi, fier, orgueilleux, timide, tendre et abaissé: ils mesurent, pour ainsi dire, ses ris, ses larmes, sa joie et sa tristesse: ils reglent le mouvement de ses bras, l'étendue et les inflexions de sa voix. La connoissance de ces préceptes n'est rien, si elle n'est soutenue par des qualités plus essentielles, et par un fond de genie fécond et disposé par l'art qu'on embrasse: il faut encore posséder certaines graces, qui font seules la belle Poésie et la belle Déclamation: elles naissent dans la Poésie du genie et de l'influence: elles ont une même source dans la Déclamation; c'est l'âme, le goût, le patethique de l'Acteur, qui peuvent seuls faire son succès et sa gloire²⁷

Moreover, according to Lévesque de la Ravallière acting was not an art based upon fixed rules, "ses règles sont arbitraires et indéçises", and the actors of his period

performed without reference to such a fixed art: "leur goût seul et leur génie, sans le secours d'aucun maître effectif les ont guidés et conduits à la perfection, que nous admirons en eux" ²⁸. The *Traité du récitatif* should be interpreted in light of these remarks as a document which reveals the extent to which acting *theory* if not practice, developed out of the theory of *pronuntiatio*.

The full title of Grimarest's work, *Traité du récitatif dans la lecture, dans l'action publique, dans la déclamation, et dans le chant*, is in itself revealing. Grimarest uses the term *récitatif* to cover all forms of formal speech before and audience: "le Récitatif est l'Art de lire, de prononcer, de déclamer, ou de chanter un Discours, suivant les règles de la Prononciation, et de la Ponctuation" (7R, 1740 ed., p.1). Some forty years earlier Bacilly in his *Remarques curieuses sur l'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1668) had similarly employed the term to cover stage performance and had explained that it was a type of singing that required a delivery "plus forte et plus énergique, qui consiste à donner le poids aux paroles que l'on récite, et qui a un grand rapport avec celle qui se fait sur le Théâtre et lors qu'il est question de parler en public, que l'on nomme d'ordinaire

Déclamation" (p.249). Grimarest's treatise was addressed therefore to those who practised that particular style of speech known as *la prononciation soutenue*, a more emphatic, more carefully articulated and modulated form of delivery. Although the title would lead one to expect detailed consideration of preaching and pleading as well as acting, the *Traité du récitatif* is fundamentally a handbook of elocution for the dramatic performer. Grimarest's purpose was to use the wealth of principles of oratorical delivery as a model for principles of acting, assured in the belief that "quelque différence qu'il y ait entre la Chaire et le Théâtre, ils ont des principes communs pour la déclamation" (7R, p.xxiii). Going back to the claim he had made in the *Addition à la vie de M. de Molière*, Grimarest explains that to the natural gifts of a "voix sonore et flexible, et la facilité du geste" must be added knowledge of the "règles pour conduire la voix et le geste" (7R, p.2). The first part of the work is dedicated therefore to setting out general rules for management of the voice under the headings "Accents" "Quantité" and "Ponctuation". The more particular rules of expression appropriate to the different styles of "Lecture" and of "Déclamation" occupy the remainder of the work, gesture being covered somewhat summarily within these sections.

Part of Grimarest's varied career involved teaching French

to distinguished foreigners visiting Paris²⁹, and his interest in the French language is attested for in his *Eclaircissemens sur les principes de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1712). Something of Grimarest the teacher and grammarian comes out in his exposition of basic principles of delivery. Although Le Faucheur and Bary had discussed some aspects of grammar and pronunciation their remarks followed upon those governing tonal expression and lacked the clarity of Grimarest's presentation. Grimarest clearly considered vital that the speaker should understand the terminology and mechanics of pronunciation before turning to subtleties of expression. The different effects which acute, grave and circumflex accents produce are explained and the reader is reminded that "la quantité des syllabes est la mesure du tems que l'on emploie à les prononcer" (p.15). The shortest syllables therefore will be those made up of an *e* mute, such as *aimant*, while those ending in *z*, *x* or *s* will be lengthened. The degree of accentuation applied to one's pronunciation was one of the features which distinguished ordinary speaking from formal delivery, as Grimarest pointed out: "la prononciation posée est plus noble, plus propre à la langue françoise, que celle qui est précipitée" (p.24).

The most interesting part of Grimarest's opening section

however is that dealing with punctuation. It has been suggested by A.G.Báchrach that part of the rhetorical background with which the Elizabethan actor would have been familiar involved "rules of pronunciation for every rhetorical figure used, with punctuation giving a range of indications the exact sense of which we have still not yet been able to trace"³⁰. Familiarity with *pronuntiatio* and in particular with the works of Le Faucheur and Bary reveals that there were indeed certain basic principles which guided the expression of an exclamation, a question and other figures of speech. Although Le Faucheur offered some advice on the length of pausing marked by the comma and the full-stop, however, his remarks are more limited than those to be found in grammatical works of the period. René Milleran in his *Les Deux grammaires françoises* (Marseille, 1694) for example explained the use of "des points, des virgules, de la parentèse" in his fifth chapter and in a more direct way. Milleran emphasised that punctuation was not merely employed to clarify the written sense of a text but was also an aid to delivery, "pour en concevoir d'autant mieux le sens, aussi bien en lisant qu'en parlant...ces marques en representent, pour ainsi dire, l'ame" (p.48). The full-stop therefore "marque le sens parfait du discours, et une grande pose en lisant" : A colon indicated "un sens moins parfait, et une moindre pose en lisant". The semi-colon would be used to

show "de plusieurs façons la suite et la liaison du discours". The comma required little indication in pausing being "la moindre de toutes", while brackets had once been used according to Milleran, "pour renfermer un discours séparé du sens de la période" and thus required "un son fort différent" (pp.49-50). Milleran adds that brackets had been replaced more recently by two commas. Grimarest synthesizes the two authorities; rhetoric and grammar, and further suggests that it would be useful to have "points de commandement, d'ironie, de mépris, d'emportement, d'amour et de haine, de joie et de douleur" as well. Expressivity was clearly conditioned for Grimarest by the punctuation of the text, his idea for further types of punctuation mark being an attempt to formulate some sort of notation for delivery. Given that such marks did not exist however Grimarest is obliged to follow traditional doctrine and offer advice on the exclamation mark, the question mark, the colon, brackets and the full stop, and to discuss the passions and their expression in a separate section. Grimarest's advice on punctuation offers no surprises; the exclamation mark is "celui qui avertit dans la lecture, qu'il faut admirer, s'étonner ou se plaindre", while the question mark indicates "que l'on doit prononcer l'expression d'un ton supérieur ou élevé" (p.30). Milleran's remark on brackets is confirmed, although Grimarest does not suggest that this form of punctuation is outdated.

Brackets according to Grimarest require that the reader should "mettre sa voix sur un ton plus bas ou plus haut que ce qui précède, ou ce qui suit, selon le sens qu'elle renferme" (p.39). Examination of seventeenth-century editions of tragedies in light of these remarks would seem to confirm that punctuation was regarded by the reader or actor as a useful guide to expression. The 1637 Courbé edition of Scudéry's *La Mort de César* for example is rigorously punctuated and to an extent beyond that necessary to the sense. Brute's speech in the opening scene contains more than adequate indication of the phrasing to be observed by the actor:

Fleau des foibles esprits, image du danger,
 Vous choquez un dessein qui ne scauroit changer;
 Il est juste, il est beau, c'est ce que je demande:
 Ma main, resolvons nous; l'honneur nous le commande:
 Montrons le mesme coeur qu'ont montré nos parens,
 Et que le Nom de Brute est fatal aux Tirans.

(11.5-10)

Exclamation and question marks also stud the text, along with the sort of use of brackets to which Milleran and Grimarest refer. Thus in the final scene Antoine's speech is orchestrated by the punctuation:

Le Grand Caesar est mort: ce second Alexandre;
 (Hélas! qui le croira) n'est plus qu'un peu de cendre:
 Et cette Urne contient (ô triste souvenir)
 Ce que tout l'Univers ne pouvoit contenir.
 Mais quel estrange sort le derobe à la terre?
 Est-il mort dans son lict? est-il mort à la guerre?

(V,6 11.1-6)

What is especially interesting about the punctuation of

this passage is that certain punctuation marks would appear to have been omitted. Where one would expect a question mark after "qui le croira" and an exclamation mark after "ô triste souvenir", there are none, presumably because the bracketing had already indicated a change of tone. Texts of the period 1630-1650 are particularly rich in punctuation marks, and as Joan Crow suggests in her introduction to Scudéry's *La Comédie des comédiens* (Univ. of Exeter, 1975), its purpose was quite clearly to guide delivery: "la ponctuation de ce texte paraît excessive à certains endroits, surtout en ce qui concerne la virgule. Elle sert à séparer non seulement des phrases subordonnées, mais à marquer l'hémistiche ou la fin d'un vers, indépendamment de la construction grammaticale...En somme c'est un usage flou où la ponctuation peut fournir des indications utiles pour la récitation des vers" (p.xix). By the early eighteenth century however the actor was required to do more than merely follow textual indications. Expression based solely upon punctuation was inadequate as Grimarest's criticism of contemporary actors and the fact that "toute leur science, disent-ils, est de bien observer la ponctuation" (*AVM*, p.163) suggests. Phrasing being insufficient Grimarest turns from punctuation to examine the rhetorical approach to expression, tonal variation according to subject, passions and figures.

It is from his discussion of tonal variation that Grimarest's originality becomes apparent. Although his basic advice is drawn from rhetorical theory, it is applied to drama in an entirely new manner so as to be of practical use. Two types of speaking are distinguished by Grimarest, *Lecture* and *Déclamation*, acting being considered within the second category. The distinction is revealing of the sort of conception of acting examined in chapter two, for Grimarest does not consider acting and public speaking as separate entities. The dramatic text may be performed in two styles just as may a sermon or speech, according to Grimarest. The difference is not in the scripted genre but in the genre of delivery; a speech from Racine when read would be less emphatic than when declaimed, gesture only being used in the second case. An exactly similar principle would apply to any other passage of writing; stage performance (acting) was seen as "déclamation" and thus shared common features with oratorical expression: "la Déclamation...est le récit ampoulé, que l'on fait d'un discours oratoire, pour satisfaire l'esprit, et pour toucher le coeur des spectateurs ...l'étendue de la voix doit être plus forte que celle du récit particulier...l'Orateur ajoute le geste à sa prononciation et il n'est pas permis au Lecteur de l'employer comme un moyen de toucher le Spectateur" (pp.72-3). Again we are reminded of the distinction between "la prononciation

soutenue" and "la prononciation familière" and of Bacilly's explanation of declamation as involving a degree of heightening and sustained use of gesture.

Grimarest's advice on *la lecture* follows familiar precepts: one should avoid monotony, extremes and over-emphatic delivery. Similarly one should have good pronunciation free of provincial accents and competent breath-control (pp.45-6). Variety should be given to the text by changing the voice in accordance with subject and passions, and to these Grimarest adds that account should be taken of the writer's style. Thus for example Cornelian tragedy would require "un ton de voix plus noble, plus lié, plus élevé" than those of Racine (p.54). Racine's style would demand a tone that was "plus naturel, plus coupé, plus touchant", while Molière's comedies would require "plus de délicatesse dans la conduite de la voix" than would be necessary in lower forms of comedy, "celles où il n'y a que de l'intrigue, ou des sentimens grossiers" (p.54). To a large extent of course such advice was superfluous since the style of the text would have indicated the appropriate style of delivery. However Grimarest is the first to consider this particular problem of the performance of texts which one has not oneself written, a concept which was foreign to theories of oratorical delivery.

Grimarest's discussion of acting, as has already been pointed out, falls into that second category of speaking, *la déclamation*, which Grimarest further identifies with *pronuntiatio*: "un Sermon, une Oraison, une Tragédie, une Comédie peuvent être l'objet de cette Partie de la Rhétorique" (p.72). His approach to the subject is therefore more in line with the seventeenth-century Classical attitude than with the separate consideration of the acting art which characterizes eighteenth-century texts. Grimarest accepts that acting is declamation and is therefore subject to regulation by those rules which classical texts had provided for the guidance of oratorical declamation. He thus adopts the traditional pattern of rhetorical advice on *pronuntiatio*, statement of general principles followed by particular advice on tonal variation. In addition he shared the Classical faith in the value of prescriptive advice and imitation of models in the formation of an artist. Lévesque de la Ravallière's concept of "le génie" and "l'âme" as fundamental artistic qualities is far from Grimarest's aesthetic.

In characteristic rhetorical fashion therefore Grimarest divides his discussion of declamation into two parts: voice and gesture, and proposes to treat each according to "principes généraux" and "principes particuliers" (p.74). Like Scudéry

and D'Aubignac, Grimarest attributed the poor standard of contemporary acting to an inability to express emotion appropriately: "ils sont le plus souvent tranquilles, quand ils contestent; en colère, quand ils exhortent; indifférens, quand ils remontrent; froids, quand ils invectivent" (p.75). To improve acting quality, it would be necessary therefore for actors to study the rules of expression in declamation, and to give themselves more completely to their art. It is in this context that Grimarest criticizes contemporary actors for a fault which was to be isolated by Poisson, the two Riccobonis and other critics of the eighteenth century, wandering looks and inability to sustain the dramatic illusion (p.76). This criticism is indicative of a more demanding concept of dramatic illusion, the actor was expected to stay in character throughout his presence on stage, whether he were speaking or not. Similarly Grimarest was to require greater physical correspondance between the person of the actor and the character he was to represent. Where the seventeenth-century audience seem to have disregarded disparity between the age of the actor and the age of his stage-persona, during the eighteenth century critics demanded greater realism. For Grimarest and his contemporaries awareness of the actor as performer was beginning to impinge upon enjoyment. However, as Grimarest's description of the qualities required in an actor playing a king makes clear, interpretation of character

was not to be purely a question of strong identification and sincerity on the part of the actor. Rather it was to depend upon conforming to a certain convention relating to the *emploi*: "Que l'Acteur ne neglige point de convenir aux personnages, par la taille, par l'âge, par la voix; le Public suppose toujours qu'un Roi doit avoir une belle prestance, l'air noble, et la voix mâle: Il ne s'accommode point d'un Amant sexagenaire, à grosse voix, et d'une taille spacieuse" (p.77). The actor was to transform himself only to the extent of matching a certain type, he was not required to convey the idea of an individual with idiosyncratic features and behaviour.

Turning to the fundamental principles which regulate the voice, Grimarest reiterates standard rhetorical rules: "The voice must be sufficiently strong to be audible throughout the theatre and sufficiently flexible for the actor to "varier les accens, suivant les mouvements de la Pièce" (p.78). As in oratorical delivery the actor must avoid extremes, his tone must be neither "le ton naturel" nor "le ton fausset", and although declamation is by nature emphatic, he must beware of straining his voice and screeching: "on ne doit jamais pousser son ton au-delà de la Nature: les éclats de voix font toujours un mauvais effet" (pp.78-80). In the *Addition à la Vie de M. de Molière* Grimarest had reiterated the

rhetorical axiom concerning an over-cadenced style of delivery, *le chant*, which ignored sense and meaning for rhythmic effect. The actor, like the orator, should not allow his declamation to slip into a melodic pattern which would mask the meaning of his lines: "qu'il évite le chant avec soin...le repos à la rime, ou à la césure, si la ponctuation n'y oblige, confond le sens de l'Auteur... On est désolé d'entendre des Acteurs qui poussent leur voix comme des possédés, en prononçant, par exemple, un adjectif, et tomber du moins à l'octave en proférant son substantif" (AVM, p.164). Clearly then, although Grimarest's conception of *la déclamation* involved a more emphatic, more carefully-modulated sort of delivery than would have been used in ordinary speech, by the end of the seventeenth century the style of tragic declamation had become less deliberately melodic. A measure of this transition may be gauged by the punctuation and rhythms of tragic texts themselves. Where the serious drama of the 1630s and 1640s tended to lead the voice up to a pause at the caesura and allow it to fall towards the end of the line, as G.Lote has explained, by the time Racine and Molière were producing their plays a change in sensibility had produced a reformed style. This reform "avait consisté à briser les hémistiches en marquant les accents intérieurs, tandis que jusque-là...ces hémistiches étaient considérés comme des mots indivisibles"³¹. As we have seen in the context of Mlle Champmeslé's performance

of *Mithridate*, Racine was content to use the mechanics of melodic delivery and in particular the octave shift to which Grimarest alluded, but only to the extent that this was compatible with the sense and mood of the lines.

However Grimarest and his contemporaries would appear to have desired an even less melodic sort of declamation than that practised by Mlle Champmeslé. Mlle Duclos, La Champmeslé's successor and pupil, was not to be highly-esteemed by many critics because she conformed to her model's style of delivery. Between Racine and Grimarest a further loosening of the rhythmic nature of tragic declamation had been effected to bring it yet closer to the style of ordinary speech. Grimarest's advice to the actress playing Phèdre indicates how this new style might best be effected by breaking up the lines with pauses and sighs. Grimarest explained that "toute la scène de Phèdre avec sa Confidente doit être ornée dans la prononciation de ces soupirs, et de ces silences, plutôt que de réciter avec emphase tous les vers qu'elle contient, comme font presque toutes les personnes qui se mêlent de la déclamer". Grimarest's remark is symptomatic of the changed taste of the early decades of the eighteenth century and it was not long before Marivaux,

Voltaire and other dramatists were to script such silences and sighs into their texts along with tears and voices broken with emotion³². Many would have agreed with Grimarest's opinion concerning Phèdre's expression of tormented love: "il me semble qu'une voix plaintive et foible, entrecoupée de silences et de soupirs, expose beaucoup mieux au spectateur les mouvemens douloureux de cette scène" (7R, p.106). It was precisely this sort of acting style which was to bring Mlle Lecouvreur such success. Between 1717 and 1730 Mlle Lecouvreur interpreted such rôles as Cornélie, Junie and Monime in a manner which accorded better with contemporary taste than that of Mlle Duclos. In a letter of 1730 to the actress Piron praised her for her excellent performance in his tragedy *Callisthène* and selected for particular mention precisely those elements which Grimarest had described: "je n'ai pas imaginé dans ma pièce de ces graces séduisantes qui naissent d'un tendre soupir, d'un coup d'oeil fin, d'un silence ou d'un cri bien ménagé, de ces je ne sais quoi triomphants où l'art subtil et la douce nature sont obligés de se prêter un secours continuel l'un et l'autre"³³. Lecouvreur's less emphatic, less ostentatiously melodic sort of declamation corresponded exactly to the taste of contemporary critics. All were agreed that she had contributed to a new style of declamation which fell somewhere

between Classical declamation (La Champmeslé) and the prosaic style of some of Baron's acting after his return to the stage in 1720. Thus the *Mercure de France* (mars, 1730, p.579) explained that "on lui donne la gloire d'avoir introduit la déclamation simple, noble et naturelle, et d'en avoir banni le chant". While Aiguebarre was to elaborate on the way she combined the noble with the natural by describing the difference between her style of declamation and that of Baron:

On ne doit point confondre le *simple* avec le *naturel*. L'un consiste à imiter la nature, à suivre dans la haine, la douleur, etc., les différents mouvements qu'elle excite dans les coeurs; à se rapprocher le plus qu'on peut du héros...Le *simple* consiste à réduire la gravité du cothurne et la majesté des rois; à les rapprocher de la pratique ordinaire des autres hommes; à les rendre, pour ainsi dire, un peu plus populaires, en ôtant au geste, à la voix, à la prononciation, un certain éclat qu'on peut supposer dans la personne des rois, et qui paroît convenir à l'idée de leur grandeur. Enfin cette simplicité étoit du goût particulier du sieur Baron...Mlle Lecouvreur...se contentoit d'être naturelle sans trop affecter cette simplicité. Elle évitoit l'enflure, mais elle ne descendoit jamais au-dessous de la grandeur héroïque

34

An identical appreciation of Mlle Lecouvreur's declamation as compared with Baron's was to be held by Louis Riccoboni and his wife, as will be seen in the context of the former's writings on declamation.

Grimarest, like Aiguebarre, the critic of the *Mercure* and Piron, desired a style of tragic declamation which would be

noble, natural and expressive of the passions. The actor was neither to be artificially grand nor was he to speak his lines and use his body as he would himself in everyday life. His business was to make the noble manner of his character appear natural, to convey feeling in a way which respected the conventional tones of the passions without seeming mechanical. It is to this end that the *Traité du récitatif* is directed. As will be seen from a comparison of the tones recommended by Grimarest with those of writers on *pronuntiatio* (see appendices I-III), the pattern of expression which Grimarest advocated was directly based upon rhetorical theory. The advice of Grimarest would have enabled the actor to be *naturel* rather than *simple*, to "suivre dans la haine, la douleur, etc., les différents mouvements qu'elle excite dans les coeurs". Examination of Grimarest's theory of expression reveals however a more nuanced approach to tonal variation than was apparent in traditional theory, an approach closer to Bary than to Le Faucheur. Thus for example love is subdivided into three categories, each with its separate characteristic tone. "L'Amour qui donne de la joie" will be shown in "une voix flateuse et tendre" while the love which merely "fait plaisir" will be revealed in "une voix gaie". Finally the love which makes its victim suffer will require "des tons pressans et plaintifs" (7R, p.81). Moreover Grimarest

emphasizes that emotional behaviour is not a question of being dominated by one passion but is often a compound of "plusieurs passions ensemble" (7R, p.93). Unlike the actor of an earlier period, the actor of Grimarest's time is advised to convey a web of feeling rather than a pre-dominating passion. He should "tellement allier les inflexions qui leur sont propres, que le Spectateur puisse les reconnaître, et en être touché" (7R, p.93). The traditional code of tones appropriate to the passions is accepted but its flavour is radically changed by a more subtle mixing. Unfortunately the examples from Racine and Corneille which Grimarest provides to illustrate tonal variation do not do justice to this principle. For, as was mentioned in chapter two, Grimarest identifies certain passages from these dramatists with certain passions and suggests a characteristic tone for each. Full details of these illustrations are provided in appendix II and in light of this advice styles of performance in the early eighteenth century may be gauged. It is revealing for example that the scene between Chimène and Rodrigue (*Le Cid*, III,4) is identified by Grimarest with "l'amour douce", to be expressed in a "voix flatteuse et tendre", for this suggests a lyrical, almost pastoral mode of delivery. A more surprising interpretation, but one that accords with traditional rhetorical theory, is indicated by Grimarest's choice of Oreste's speech at the

beginning of *Andromaque* as an example of the sort of questions which "sert à nous éclairer sans passion", requiring "un ton doux". In keeping with the general rule that the opening or exordium should be in a moderate tone therefore, Oreste was acted in accordance with Grimarest's advice on the figure "interrogation". If indeed the actor playing Oreste did deliver these lines enquiring about Hermione in this relatively dispassionate manner, it places a very different emphasis on the development of Oreste's passion. For it suggests that until he had seen Hermione once more Oreste remained calm and in control of his passion. In keeping with seventeenth-century portrayal of "amour-passion" it is the sight of the beloved which precipitates physical display of feeling. Moreover this calm opening suggests that *Andromaque* was scored so as to build up progressively to a climax of emotion. The contrast between the Oreste of the opening scene and the Oreste of the final scene would have been firmly pronounced.

After the detailed advice on tonal variation according to the passions and the figures, Grimarest's remarks on character and on gesture are disappointingly sparse. As will be seen in appendix II, comic characterization is given more consideration than that of the tragic rôle. For, as Grimarest explained comic characters might need to be portrayed with a particular form of accent while tragic ones merely required

"une voix sublime et pompeuse". The actor best suited for tragic rôles would be blessed therefore with "une voix nette et sonore, un Port majestueux, une Taille avantageuse, et une belle Phisionomie", for these qualities corresponded to audience expectations of tragic dignity (p.112). On gesture Grimarest is very restricted in his advice, suggesting merely that gesture should accompany the voice and that "la Nature amene les gestes dans l'action" (p.113). Where Bary had described models for gesture as well as tone, Grimarest offers merely advice on certain facial expressions appropriate to certain feelings. To those familiar with rhetorical theory these descriptions offer no surprises, "joie" will be shown with a "visage ouvert", "péril" and "crainte" with a "visage agité", "tristesse" with a "visage abatu" and "larmes", "colère" with a "visage rude et enflammé" and "mépris" with "regards dédaigneux" (p.114). Compared with the rich detail on tonal variation such perfunctory advice on gesture is unexpected, especially as Grimarest dedicated his treatise to the Duchesse de Maine whose circle at Sceaux was experimenting in the use of mime³⁵. It would seem probable therefore that the *Traité du récitatif* was conceived as a handbook on vocal management only, gesture taking second place as it had in rhetorical theory. Like contemporary writers on oratorical delivery such as Gaichies, Grimarest would appear to have considered

written advice on gesture to be inappropriate. The *Traité du récitatif* is therefore something of a bridge between the systematic, highly-classified approach to Classical declamation and the eighteenth-century theorists' emphasis upon *le génie*, *l'enthousiasme* and the rôle of the imagination. Grimarest appropriates the traditional approach of writers on *pronuntiatio* but softens its strictures by suggesting nuances within the traditional categories, and by leaving aside traditional rules and advice on management of gesture.

POISSON AND THE REFLEXIONS SUR L'ART DE PARLER EN PUBLIC

While the *Traité du récitatif* shows how the acting profession might have applied *pronuntiatio* to the business of stage performance, it does not prove that professional actors of this period were familiar with the theory. It is not until the appearance in 1709 of an article on the art of public speaking that evidence of the actor being consulted as a master of *pronuntiatio* is available. For in June 1709 an article entitled "Réflexions sur l'art de parler en public" appeared in the *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans*. This article was expanded in 1717 to be published in the *Nouveau Mercure*, the form to which reference will be made in this chapter. The author of these reflections, as an *avis*

printed in the August edition of the *Nouveau Mercure* was to explain, was "M. Poisson, comedien de S.M. le Roy de Pologne et Electeur de Saxe". This particular Poisson was Jean, son of the famous Raymond (Crispin), and brother of Paul, an actor at the Comédie-Française. Like Floridor, Jean Poisson had been solicited as an expert to formulate guidelines for the public-speaker, as he explained in his *Avis au lecteur*: "deux de mes amis qui se devoient, l'un à la Chaire, l'autre au Barreau, m'engagerent...à écrire ceci". And again, as Floridor would appear to have done, Poisson identifies his art of acting with "l'Art de la Declamation" and uses the standard classical sources, Cicero and Quintilian, as the basis of his advice. To the familiar corpus of principles of *pronuntiatio* however Poisson adds advice drawn from his own experience as an actor and claims also to have "profité, autant qu'il m'a été possible, des lumières des Acteurs de la Troupe du Roy, qui ont bien voulu m'honorer de leurs avis". The actors of Paris are presented by Poisson as acknowledged masters of the art of declamation, a situation which he attributes not merely to their natural gifts, but to a certain type of training and milieu: "les Talens acquis des Acteurs, la fréquentation des personnes polies et spirituelles, les avis des Auteurs, le goût juste et délicat des Auditeurs, tout enfin contribué à rendre les Acteurs de Paris parfaits dans leur Art" (p.8). It would

seem likely therefore that identification of principles of tragic declamation with the classical theory of *pronuntiatio* during the seventeenth century, was largely conditioned by the preconceptions and rhetorically-orientated education of the particular social group for which tragedy catered. As the writings of the last chapter have shown, this group's knowledge of classical theatre and acting was heavily influenced by the qualitative distinction between mime and a serious, literary style of acting which runs through Cicero's and Quintilian's writings. It was not until the mid-eighteenth century that this particular interpretation of the classical art of acting was to be abandoned in favour of re-evaluation of mime, and again acting style was to be conditioned by the theories and attitudes of the dominating social group.

Poisson's *Réflexions* is the first theory of elocution written by a professional French actor to have survived, Floridor's manuscript having been lost. Its importance in suggesting the extent to which rhetorical theory underlay acting practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France is paramount. However it should be pointed out that Poisson's text was not intended to be an art of acting. The *Réflexions* were aimed at the preacher, lawyer or public-speaker, but references to the theatre and to acting practice are used to amplify basic principles in a way which suggests

very forcibly that acting was considered to be a branch of *pronuntiatio*, a type of declamation, and not a separate art. As Poisson himself explained, "l'art de réciter" included within its sphere "la Chaire, l'Ecole, le Barreau, les Harangues, le Ministère politique, la lecture, la Conversation même", the particular mode of each being observable in the theatre which "renferme toutes ces choses" (p.12). As a result, just as Chappuzeau had done, Poisson recommends that professional acting serve as a model for the public-speaker: "les Orateurs Profanes, et Sâcrez mêmes, peuvent profiter beaucoup pour la Déclamation, quand nos belles Pièces sont représentées par de bons Acteurs" (p.13). Similarly the excellent actor, that is one who possessed precisely those qualities traditionally recommended in the orator, "doué des Qualitez de l'Esprit, et des grâces naturelles du Corps, et...avec cela l'Ame susceptible des Passions" (p.15), might serve as "un modèle que toutes les personnes qui parlent en public, doivent imiter" (p.15). By 1709 therefore patterns of influence were changing; the actor had become so admirable an example of good declamation that he was to be consulted for both written and oral advice on the art of delivery. Those qualities which seventeenth-century critics imbued with rhetorical theory had demanded in the professional actor of the new French drama, had become essential attributes of the good actor. Without

a certain culture, a certain dignity and corporal grace, and an ability to express the passions, no actor could hope to find a place in the eighteenth-century Comédie-Française.

Réflexions sur l'art de parler en public follows the traditional rhetorical pattern of presentation: definitions, discussion of memory, pronunciation and articulation, body movements, tones and inflexions, face and eyes and finally manual gesture. The precise order of treatment differs from classical models and there is proportionally more space allocated to discussion of gesture, but Poisson's analysis owes an acknowledged debt to classical sources, quotations from Cicero and from the *Ad Herennium* being included in footnote references. Since Poisson's text offers a guide to the extent of rhetorical knowledge common to the French professional actor at this period it will be helpful to examine his treatment of *pronuntiatio* in some detail.

From the outset Poisson makes it clear that he is only qualified in that branch of rhetoric concerned with delivery: "je ne parle point ici de la composition d'un Discours, c'est un Art qui me passe. Je ne parle que de ce que les Rhéteurs nomment Prononciatio, c'est à dire, des

Qualitez exterieures de l'Orateur, comme la Voix, le Visage, le Geste, etc." (pp.5-6). According to Poisson the acting profession had its own particular term to cover the art, preferring to "prononciation" the label "Art de reciter ou Recit". He further explains that both terms are equivalent to that which in the colleges was called "Déclamation". From these definitions it is clear that Poisson is concerned with a particular register of speech, deliberately formal and regulated by concerns other than those which would apply in ordinary conversation. *Prononciation (pronuntiatio) = Art de réciter, récit, (récitatif)* = *Déclamation*: the classical art of delivery had been extended to the art of serious acting in France and conditioned a particular style in which vocal expression played a more important part than gesture (*art de réciter* rather than *art de jouer*), and this style, *la déclamation*, was gradually to lose its attraction, a process which may be measured by the connotations of artifice and rant which the term *déclamation* was to acquire³⁶. Already by the time Poisson was writing the word used to describe a certain style of formal delivery was losing its pure sense. As he explained "ce mot, Déclamateur, n'est pas pris, je crois, en bonne part: Il signifie en Rhétorique, un Orateur qui employe de grands mots empoulez, qui n'ont nulle solidité, et qui ne disent rien" (p.6). However Poisson was not of

the school which was to condemn the style of Classical declamation outright. As was mentioned in chapter two, Poisson readily acknowledged that an emphatic type of delivery could be attractive in certain circumstances. For *déclamateur* in theatrical circles was used to describe "un Acteur qui récite toujours sur un ton emphatique, ce que nous appellons, Chanter" (p.6), and to *chanter*, in Poisson's opinion and taste was not by definition wrong. As has been seen, Poisson approved of this style as it was practised by Mlle Champmeslé in her delivery of Racinian tragedy. However, as Poisson explained her success in this style was partly because "elle s'étoit rendu ce Recit naturel", and partly because "elle récitait les Rôles des Tragedies du Celebre M. de Corneille excellemment, et dans toute une autre manière" (p.7). Presumably it was because Mlle Duclos and Beaubourg abused the style, applying it to all types of tragic delivery, that it ceased to seem natural and lost its attraction as a key-note of Classical tragic acting style.

Having defined his terms Poisson enters into his reflections themselves. The first of these reveals the extent to which these thoughts on delivery are indeed those of an experienced practitioner set to paper. For Poisson describes very graphically a problem familiar to actors

and orators: stage-fright. The speaker must do all he can to overcome this "espèce de timidité", helped by that second quality of the good speaker, "la Mémoire belle" (pp. 16-7). To confidence and a good memory were to be added qualities of "prononciation et articulation". The speaker would need to conform to the established standard of pronunciation, following "les règles de la Langue et le bel Usage" and making his voice as pleasing as possible: "coulante, nette et insinuante" (p.19). Extremes of speed were to be avoided and to this end Poisson recommended a technique which stemmed directly from rhetorical theory but which he further justified by claiming it was practised by professional actors, rehearsing with pebbles in the mouth:

ceux qui ont l'Articulation, ou trop lente, ou trop précipitée, et même ceux qui parlent gras, peuvent répéter leurs Discours avec de petits cailloux dans la bouche, en s'efforçant de bien prononcer. Si on a la Mâchoire trop pesante, elle se rend par là légère, et si on l'a trop précipitée, ces petits cailloux modèrent l'impetuosité de la Langue, et tempèrent la Vivacité du Recit. Demosthenes, qui étoit bégue, se servoit de cailloux, et j'ai vu quelques Acteurs, qui avoient quelques uns de ces deffauts, qui ont acquis par ce moyen, une Articulation, et une Prononciation assés juste.

(p.20)

Here we have a precise example of rhetorical theory having influenced stage practice, a professional actor confirming the use of a rhetorical method in training contemporary actors.

Further amplification of standard rhetorical principles with remarks drawn from his own experience is provided in the context of Poisson's advice on "Tons ou Flexions de voix". Like *Art de réciter ou récit*, *flexions* according to Poisson was the word used in theatrical circles to refer to tones: "c'est parmi nous autres Comédiens, le Terme. Nous disons d'un Acteur, qui recite d'une certaine façon, "qu'il n'a point de flexions" " (p.23). It is indicative perhaps of S.Chappuzeau's familiarity with the professional theatre that he had used the term *flexions* alongside *tons* in his *Orateur chrétien* (Paris, 1676). To the traditional axiom that the orator's voice should be "naturellement nette, sonore" and not too "perçante", Poisson adds that the best sort of voice for oratory is one that is "semblable à une belle Taille de Musique, que les Latins appellent Tenor", for this lends itself to "toutes les flexions imaginables" (p.23). However Poisson was well aware that the different branches of declamation made different demands on the voice: "le Harangueur et le Ministre d'Etat n'ont pas toujours besoin d'une si grande Voix, mais dans la Chaire, au Barreau, et au Théâtre, il faut quelques fois faire du bruit, pour reveiller l'Attention de l'Auditeur" (p.23). To this end Poisson offered advice on the mechanism of breath control rarely found in traditional writings on delivery: "pour cela, il faut prendre sur ses Poulmons, il ne faut pas cependant crier, s'enrouer, et comme nous disons s'engouer,

et c'est à quoi nous sommes quelques fois sujets au Théâtre" (p.23). Drawing from personal experience of acting, Poisson explains why this occurs and how to prevent it. Actors tended to have their voices obscured in this manner when carried away by the emotivity of the text: "le feu nous emporte et (pour me servir de nos termes) nous épousons trop la Passion; et nôtre Période n'est pas finie, que nous sommes tout essoufflez" (p.23)³⁷. The terminology Poisson employs in this context is significant, suggesting once more that the actor's business was conceived of primarily in terms of expression of passions rather than identification with character. The actor was carried away, not as later writers were to see it because he person ally over identified with the human being portrayed, but because he was caught up in the powerful emotive rhetoric of the text. To avoid such loss of control Poisson suggests a technique which must have been familiar to the practitioners of Classical declamation:

pour prévenir cet accident, il faut se donner des tems, c'est-à-dire, faire de petites pauses, presque insensibles, en reprenant légèrement la respiration, et en soutenant toujours les Yeux et l'Action, pour tenir l'Auditeur en haleine, et attentif jusqu'à la fin de la Période, sans la laisser tomber...ces aspirations étant légères, ont toujours grâce dans le Recit, elles en sont l'Ame, et c'est par là qu'une Période dite rapidement, presque d'un même port de voix, et finie sur un ton un peu emphatique, fait un bel effet au Théâtre, et qui s'attirent un applaudissement general, l'Acteur fait ce que nous appellons le Brouha-ha.

(p.24).

Poisson's position with regard to the style of delivery which elicited *le krouhaha* was evidently very different from that of Molière. Where Molière had criticized tragic declamation which deliberately used the voice for emphatic, climactic effect³⁸, Poisson considered "l'Ame, et ...le plus grand Art de la Declamation" to reside in precisely this style. Poisson adopted the approach and attitudes to declamation found in seventeenth-century theories of oratorical delivery, as his advice on the degree of identification required in spoken expression suggests. Like Le Faucheur and his followers Poisson believed some amount of sympathy with the feelings of one's text to be essential to their expression, "on ne peut jamais bien exprimer ce qu'on ne ressent pas vivement" (p.25). However such personal involvement should never be so complete as to suppress the rational awareness and judgment of the speaker: "cependant, il faut se posséder, il ne faut pas trop se pénétrer soi-même, ni s'abandonner...à son feu et à sa Passion". For to allow this to happen would have consequences on the ability of the speaker to deliver effectively. Inspiration, *l'uror*, would not produce powerful natural expression of feeling to move the audience to an intense degree, it would alienate the audience by disturbing the quality of the performance. The speaker who had been carried away by his *feu* and *passion* would find that "on s'étouffe, la voix se perd, et la Mémoire même se trouble

quelques fois" (p.25). This was the position which was to be so strongly debated by eighteenth-century theorists, Louis Riccoboni and others arguing for *enthousiasme*, *âme* and *sensibilité*, François Riccoboni and Diderot remaining more strictly faithful to the Classical aesthetic of controlled expression, of a degree of identification which did not exclude the rational.

Although Poisson clearly subscribed to the principles of *pronuntiatio*, his approach is less rigidly cast in the Classical mould. The comments he makes based upon his own experience are indicative of this, as is his avoidance of detailed prescriptive advice on expression of emotion. Poisson's advice on tonal variation emphasises its importance and the need to practise but does not offer the speaker patterns and prescriptions: "les tons doux, tendres, et affectueux gagnent le coeur. Les vehemens le frappent de terreur. Les familiers s'insinuent et gagnent l'esprit. Il Faut étudier toutes les Flexions de Voix convenables aux Passions, mais tous les Tons doivent être nobles et naturels" (p.28). Poisson's reluctance to elaborate further on this point would appear to indicate disapproval of the highly-categorized treatments of seventeenth-century rhetoricians. It was perhaps to Le Faucheur and his pros-

elytes that Poisson was referring when he warned , "on doit éviter cette Déclamation Scolastique, qui, avec des Tons et des Gestes trop étudiés, et si j'ose dire, Pedantesques, prétend exprimer jusqu'au moindre mot" (p.27). Implied criticism of the sort of advice given by Le Faucheur, Bary and Grimarest is equally apparent in Poisson's remarks on "le Visage et les Yeux" where he claims prescriptive advice on the expression of individual passions is futile: "il est inutile de dire, que le Superbe élève sa vue, que l'Humble la baisse, que le Meprisant et le Colere tourne les yeux de côté; car, la Nature d'elle-même dans la Passion, fait toutes ces choses et on n'a pas besoin d'avis là-dessus" (p.29). For Poisson, as for Gaichiès, what was important was not diligent study and practice of prescribed models and patterns of behaviour but a personal expression of feeling based upon what Gaichiès had called "une véhémence interieure, qui naît de l'impression que fait le sujet sur l'âme de l'Orateur" (*Maximes sur le ministère de la chaire*, p.113). Art, that is a certain amount of study and practice, still had its place in both Gaichiès' and Poisson's approach to declamation, but it was giving way to a new concept of Art in which the sympathetic identification was to play a larger part than Reason and Judgement. As Poisson explained, "l'Art peut bien, en corrigeant un peu les deffauts de la Nature, rendre un Orateur, et un Acteur plus que passable et au dessus du médiocre". However

to be a consummate artist one needed a certain sensitivity, "la sensibilité de l'Ame, que nous appellons Entrailles" and certain inborn qualities "ces graces exterieures si éclatantes, et si frappantes, que nous admirons dans certains Orateurs, dans certains Acteurs, et dans certaines Actrices" (pp.35-6).

Despite this eulogy to Nature however Poisson recognized certain rules and principles to be of value in management of declamation. Although the face will show emotion appropriately "quand l'Ame est touchée", it is important to remember that "le Visage doit n'avoir rien de choquant; il faut se le rendre parlant mais sans grimaces" (p.29). Similarly it may be helpful to keep in mind that in expression of strong feeling "les Yeux doivent être ouverts, et les Sourcils élevez...mais sans paroître égarés" (p.29). As in all French writings on *pronuntiatio* from Le Faucheur on, the eyes and brows were selected for special emphasis by Poisson: "c'est dans l'oeil qu'est l'action et la force de la Déclamation" (p.29). To this end the orator should avoid wandering looks and cultivate "une Vûe fixe, ferme et assurée", and it is in this context that Poisson criticized contemporary actors for a fault highlighted by Grimarest. "Je ne puis m'empêcher de blâmer certains Acteurs, qui sur la Scene, ont un oeil distrait, et qui n'écoutent qu'à demi et froidement, celui qui leur parle

de choses importantes et intéressantes. Un bon Acteur attentif à tout ce qui se passe sous sa vûe, fait connoître par ses seuls mouvemens extérieurs, et surtout par ses yeux, que son Ame est touchée de ce qu'il voit, du de ce qu'il entend, et sans parler, il touche l'Auditeur" (p.30).

The concept which Poisson is advocating here clearly aimed to create a more complete sense of illusion, of what we should call "staying in character", than had been customary on the seventeenth-century stage. For the eyes are the one element in gestural expression which cannot be governed by conscious control and must be rendered appropriate by imaginative identification. Louis Riccoboni was to emphasize precisely this aspect of acting in his writings on delivery, while the performing style he and his troupe used to interpret the plays of Marivaux involved considerable play of eye and glance.

On manual gesture Poisson is sparing in his advice, reiterating the standard principle that it should be graceful and dignified: "l'Action...noble, naturelle, gracieuse, importante, animée, vive et legere".(p.31). To this end the familiar rules concerning range and type of gesture are given. The hands should not be raised above the head, one should not "fraper des poings, ou les mains l'une dans l'autre, mettre les poings sur les côtez, montrer

des doigts, les écarter, étendre les bras en croix, avoir trop de Gestes...observer une certain action reguliere d'une main à l'autre, n'agir que de la main gauche seule" (p.31). Significantly Poisson explained that such movements were not "vicieux" only in oratory but were also inappropriate to tragic delivery and might be tolerable only on the comic stage: " (ils) sont tous gestes vicieux qui ne seront pas suportable sur la Scene tragique, et qui ne peuvent convenir qu'à un Comique" (p.31). The level of decorum required in oratorical delivery was identical with that of the tragic stage, and the traditional principles which ensured that oratorical delivery was expressive without being undignified were therefore as applicable to tragic declamation as they were to oratorical delivery. However as Poisson acknowledged, certain actors and orators might transgress these rules without losing decorum: "je dirai pourtant que ces gestes-là étant ménagés, seroient soufferts dans des fureurs et d'autres passions véhémentes; surtout dans un homme gracieux. Nous en avons plusieurs exemples au Théâtre et ailleurs" (p.32)³⁹. These did not alter the need to follow the general rule however: "ces exemples ne sont pas à suivre. Un grand Orateur et un grand Acteur peuvent hazarder quelque chose, on peut les imiter, mais on ne doit les imiter que dans ce qu'ils ont de beau, de bon et de naturel" (p.32). The aesthetic which governed Poisson's

advice was still based firmly upon social values and a social ideal of grace and dignity.

Poisson's advice on delivery indicates very well the extent to which the professional actor of the late seventeenth century identified his art with that of oratorical delivery and the classically-based theory which governed it. There is however decreased emphasis on tonal and gestural variation regulated by prescriptive advice, and proportionally greater stress laid on non-rational qualities, individual talent and artistic sensibility. Although where Poisson subscribed to classical doctrine he remained faithful to traditional precepts, there is one area in which he reversed the standard rule. Where seventeenth-century writers on *pronuntiatio* had consistently reiterated the precept that manual gesture should begin and end with the spoken words⁴⁰, Poisson suggested that "le Geste doit toujours précéder d'un instant le discours, et finir avec lui" (p.31). This is a significant departure which reinforces Poisson's emphasis on artistic sensibility rather than rational analysis in emotional expression. For the actor who attempts to identify with the situation rather than the linguistic patterns and sense of his part would tend to use gesture outside the space of the speech

itself. Manual gesture could become in this way a powerful instrument in its own right, revealing thoughts and feelings without the accompaniment of words. Used in this manner, preceding speech, manual gesture would convey the impression that the speaker was delivering his words in a more natural spontaneous manner. Where the traditional precept would have conditioned a style of delivery in which hand and arm movements followed the rhythms and moods of the sentence, Poisson's advice suggested that gesture should be used in a manner which more closely resembled ordinary conversation⁴¹. It was an approach to gesture which prepared the way for Louis Riccoboni's similar advice to the public speaker and to the actor, that they should forget their arms and allow them to move spontaneously. For Louis Riccoboni, as for Poisson, the speaker who was genuinely involved with the feelings and situation (as opposed to the linguistic structure), needed no further guidance on this matter: "s'il parvient à déclamer dans l'enthousiasme des tons de l'âme, alors il remuera les bras sans s'en appercevoir, parce que ce sera l'âme qui les y forcera, et ses gestes ne porteront jamais à faux"⁴². In his concluding remark Poisson indicated the direction which was to be taken by writers on delivery in the eighteenth century, a direction which was to reconcile the traditional classical heritage with a new emphasis on individual sensibility:

Toutes les Regles de Cicéron, de Quintilien, et des Illustres Modernes qui ont pû écrire sur la Déclamation sont inutiles à l'Orateur, s'il ne suit la première, qui est, de bien comprendre ce qu'il dit et de le sentir fortement soi-même, pour le rendre sensible à l'Auditeur. Quand on est touché de son discours, le Visage, la Voix et le Geste se prêtent, et se conforment aux mouvemens intérieurs, et pour peu qu'on ait quelques graces naturelles; avec cela seul, sans beaucoup de recherches, on peut plaire et persuader, qui est le but de l'Eloquence (p.34).

DUBOS AND THE *REFLEXIONS CRITIQUES* (1719)

Further evidence of the sort of compromise between Art and Sentiment which Poisson had effected may be traced in l'abbé Dubos' *Reflexions critiques sur la poésie et sur la peinture* which appeared for the first time in 1719⁴³. Enormously successful during the eighteenth century this work attempted to investigate the nature of aesthetic experience, and to realign what Munteano calls the "dogmatisme rationnel" of the earlier period with "une esthétique des perceptions sensibles"⁴⁴.

Dubos was not revolutionary but the use which he made of classical sources enriched aesthetics with a new relativity. His remarks on declamation and theatre epitomize this approach for although Dubos remained faithful to classical authority and although he clearly considered French tragedy to be a model of excellence, he was prepared to expand

and qualify his opinions with evidence drawn from other sources, including personal experience. As K.Holmström has said, "it was Dubos's merit that he looked behind the conventions of French classicism to find the true character of antique theatrical art"⁴⁵. Dubos had a deep knowledge of ancient history which enabled him to speak with authority and understanding on the nature of acting in antiquity. His remarks on the art of dance and pantomime, largely drawn from Lucian were to contribute to the re-evaluation of gestural expression which was to play so important a part in the development of acting and ballet in the second half of the eighteenth century. At the same time, being a keen frequenter of theatre and opera both in France and abroad Dubos was able to compare and contrast different styles of performance and to elaborate his own aesthetic on this basis.

For the purposes of this thesis only those parts of the *Réflexions* which directly discuss declamation and tragic acting will be examined. Like Poisson, Dubos elaborated an aesthetic of acting torn between appreciation of the dignified, formal style which accorded with a social ideal, and a desire for greater personal identification by the actor. This is evidenced by the particular manner in which Dubos formulates and qualifies familiar rhetorical axioms. Thus for example although he states the standard principle that "chaque passion a...un ton particulier et une expression

particuliere sur le visage", Dubos gives pride of place to gesture rather than tone in expression of feeling and further suggests that no rules can be given for management of either⁴⁶. The purpose of Art for Dubos is identical with the classical conception of the aim of the orator in his delivery, to move an audience: "le but est d'émouvoir les autres hommes"⁴⁷. To this familiar precept however Dubos harnesses the principle that the artist wishing to move others must himself be moved, and this principle is given a force and emphasis well beyond that of seventeenth-century writers. For Dubos artistic expression cannot function without the necessary artistic sensibility and, as a result, "le premier mérite du Déclamateur, est celui de se toucher lui-même" (I, p.396). Similarly, "on est prévenu pour l'Acteur qui paroît être ému lui même. On se prévient contre celui qu'on reconnoît n'être point ému". As a result, "le génie qui forme les excellens Déclamateurs, consiste dans une sensibilité de coeur, qui les fait entrer machinalement, mais avec affection, dans les sentimens de leur personnage" (I, pp.397-8). The best actor therefore is one able to identify with the character he is portraying to such an extent that his imaginative sensibility creates the most effective, moving expression. Study and practice for Dubos could not replace such artistic sensitivity: "tous les Orateurs et tous les Comédiens

que nous avons vu réussir éminemment dans leurs professions, étoient des personnes nées avec la sensibilité dont je viens de parler. L'Art ne la donne point". (I, pp.398-9). It was for this reason that, in Dubos's opinion there were better actresses than actors on the French stage, for women have "plus de souplesse dans le coeur que les hommes" and "se touchent plus facilement qu'eux, des passions qu'il leur plaît d'avoir" (I, p.399). However, so strong an emphasis on sensibility did not imply that Dubos felt that personal identification could replace Art as an acting method. Earlier in the *Réflexions* when discussing the general nature of aesthetic experience, Dubos had claimed that it is possible to regulate the degree to which we are afflicted by our emotions. In this context the actor had been cited to illustrate the point. For Dubos the best actor was one who "en paroissant soi-même ému" is able to "émouvoir à son gré" (I, p.39), one able to control his emotional expression. Those actors who "sont émus véritablement", although they might move an audience, were not models to imitate, nor were they true artists for they lacked those qualities of grace and decorum so essential to the Classical aesthetic: "cela leur donne le droit de nous émouvoir, quoiqu'ils ne soient point capables d'exprimer les passions avec la noblesse et la justesse convenable" (I, pp.38-9). Clearly then Dubos shared the Classical attitude where emotional expression was tied

to a conception of decorum firmly rooted in a social model. Art without *bien-séance* and a *bien-séance* based on social conventions of the élite, was unthinkable for Dubos as it was for seventeenth-century Classicists. As E. Caramaschi has put it, "comme tout le monde autour de lui, Dubos parle d'*art* et lie la notion d'*art* à celle de *goût*; autrement dit, chez lui la fonction esthétique est fonction de la *culture* au sens le plus compréhensif et le plus social du terme"⁴⁸.

Evidence of what precisely Dubos meant by *noblesse* and *justesse convenable* in the context of French tragedy is provided by his further remarks on "Notre maniere de réciter la Tragédie et la Comédie" (I, sect.42). Tragic dignity was seen by Dubos to be based upon three elements: costume, declamation and gesture, and a particular style appropriate to each. Thus for example dignified tragic costume would be that based upon a certain idea of Roman dress, the type worn by French tragic actors at the end of the seventeenth century (see plates 17 & 59). As Dubos explained, to "donner toute la dignité possible aux personnages", the tragic actor should be clothed in "vêtemens imaginés à plaisir, et dont la première idée est prise d'après l'habit de guerre des anciens Romains, habit noble par lui-même, et qui semble avoir quelque part à la gloire du peuple qui le portoit" (I, pp.400-1). Dubos accepted this conventional style of costume as a paradigm, differing significantly in taste from those critics of the 1730s who

attacked the style as being unnatural and pretentious. The best known of these critics is Louis Riccoboni who, in his *Pensées sur la déclamation* (1738) pointed out that French tragic actors not only delivered their lines in an affected manner but they also walked in an elaborately formal way and had "une contenance tout à fait différente de la nôtre" (p.37). A more detailed criticism of tragic costume was to appear in a pamphlet entitled *Discours critique sur la tragédie française* (1730). Here again disinclination for the cadenced style of tragic declamation was matched by criticism of the earlier style of tragic costume. Having attacked the pomposity of the French tragic muse, the pamphleteer proceeds to give one of the most detailed descriptions of the type of tragic costume which Dubos admired. Although lengthy this description provides so valuable an indication of the style which was about to be replaced by a more historically orientated manner that it is worth reproducing in full:

On ne peut nier que chez eux (les Français),
l'habit pour la Tragédie ne soit magnifique
et somptueux; et qu'aucun Souverain n'en
sçaurait faire de plus riche, sans le secours
des pierreries: mais ils l'ont rendu monstrueux
par l'assemblage qu'on y trouve. Ils se servent
de l'ancien habit Grec et Romain, avec lequel on
nous peint Achille, Alexandre, César, Auguste et
dont ils nous reste encore des monumens, dans les
marbres et dans les médailles antiques; mais cet
habit est si fort altéré par certaines minucies
que les François y ajoutent, qu'il est méconnoiss-
able; et qu'on ne sçait plus ce que c'est. Les

Acteurs n'ont pas la jambe nuë; mais ils portent sous le brodequin, un bas blanc; ils ont des manches peu différentes de celles de l'habit ordinaire; et on voit à leur cou, un colier orné de Brillans, ou une cravatte de dentelle: ajoutés à cela, une énorme perruque qui leur descend jusques aux hanches, et dont une partie tombe sur l'estomach, et l'autre derrière les épaules, avec un chapeau pareil en tout, à ceux qu'on porte dans la Ville, et dont toute la différence consiste en une grande touffe de plumes, ni plus ni moins comme en portent les mulets et autres bêtes de somme. Imaginez-vous l'effet que doit faire un semblable habillement, et si l'on peut retenir ses ris, quand on le voit pour la première fois... Cet habillement qu'on appelle communément chez les François l'habit Romain, sert à tous les Héros, Achille le porte, tout comme César, Mithridate, de même que Titus.

(pp.40-2).

It was this type of tragic costume therefore which Dubos regarded as essential to the dignity of the tragic stage, an attitude which reflects a seventeenth-century aesthetic rather than an eighteenth-century one. Equally traditional was his requirement for declamatory style: "nous voulons encore que ces Acteurs parlent d'un ton de voix plus élevé, plus grave et plus soutenu, que celui sur lequel on parle dans les conversations ordinaires. Toutes les négligences que l'usage autorise dans la prononciation des entretiens familiers, leur sont interdites" (I, p.401). Significantly Dubos identified this formal style of delivery with the heavily-cadenced declamation which was held to be that of Greek tragedy: "les Italiens...disent que notre déclamation tragiquè leur donne une idée du chant ou de la déclamation

théâtrale des Anciens que nous avons perdue" (I, pp. 402-3). Tragic declamation for Dubos was by definition a style of delivery which both in articulation and cadence differed significantly from ordinary speech, or indeed from comic delivery. Louis Riccoboni, in his poem *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (1728), was to corroborate Dubos' statement linking the style of French tragic declamation with the idea of the cadenced delivery of Antiquity. Claiming natural diction to be used on all the stages of Europe except that of France, Riccoboni explained the origins of the French style:

le rythme poétique adopté à l'école de l'antiquité
a longtemps conduit à une diction artificielle...
sous prétexte que le vers s'écarterait par son rythme
de la prose, on se crut obligé d'écarter la diction
poétique du langage ordinaire, et l'on eut vite fait
de chanter sur toutes sortes de tons...La France, je
veux le croire, a pensé de même et inventé sa déclama-
tion pour les mêmes raisons...le résultat est ici
si extravagant qu'il serait temps...de faire triompher
la raison.

(Canto V)

For Dubos however cadenced delivery was an intrinsic part of the dignity of the French tragic muse, and he returns to the subject in volume III where he discusses what the Ancients meant by "chant". Analysing Capella's division of the voice into three registers, Dubos interprets that which Capella called "carmen ou son moyen" as being "la déclamation mesurée des vers qui ne se chantoient pas". This Dubos further identifies with the style of French tragic declamation currently practised: "on ne sauroit

mieux décrire notre déclamation, qui tient un milieu entre le chant musical et la prononciation des conversations familières que l'a décrit Capella sous le nom de son moyen" (III, p.69). Later in the same chapter Dubos reiterates the point, linking Aristotle's requirement of tragedy, "la mélodie" with the style of French declamation. Seeking to explain Aristotle, Dubos suggests that only those unacquainted with tragic acting would be surprised by this emphasis on "song-making": "pour être surpris de ce que dit Aristote sur l'importance de la mélodie, il faudroit n'avoir jamais vu représenter des Tragédies" (III, p.89).

However, although Dubos favoured some degree of cadence, like Poisson he recognized a limit beyond which cadenced declamation became chanting. By Dubos's time the word *chanter* had acquired pejorative associations as far as it applied to the actor: "en disant d'un Acteur qu'il chante, on croit le blâmer...cette expression renferme véritablement un reproche dans notre usage" (III, p.131). In this sense *chanter* had come to refer to the actor who "chante mal à propos", who "se jette sans discernement dans des exclamations peu convenables à ce qu'il dit" and who "par des tons empoulés et remplis d'une emphase que le sens des vers désavoue... met hors de propos dans sa déclamation un patétique toujours ridicule" (III, p.132). Inappropriate use of an emphatic

cadenced style of delivery was to be condemned but this did not mean that such a style was in itself distasteful. As Dubos explained, "on ne dit pas d'un Acteur qu'il chante, lorsqu'il ne place qu'à propos les soupirs, les accens les plus aigues et les plus graves, comme les tons les plus variés. Enfin, lorsqu'il employe dans les endroits, où le sens de ce qu'il dit le permet, la déclamation la plus approchante du chant musical" (III, p.132). For Dubos, as for Poisson, Mlle Champmèsle's style of delivery was emphatic and cadenced but, as the example Dubos cited of her delivery of Monime's lines showed, it was appropriate so.

The third element to be considered in the formulation of tragic dignity according to Dubos was gesture. Inevitably his conception of the style of gesture appropriate to the tragic stage matched that of costume and declamation and was more in line with seventeenth-century models than with the ideals advanced by eighteenth-century reformers. For Dubos it was essential that "les gestes des Acteurs tragiques soient plus mesurés et plus nobles; que leurs démarches soient graves; et que leur contenance soit plus sérieuse que les gestes, les démarches et le maintien des personnages de Comédie" (I, p.402). The degree of difference between tragic and comic gesture which Dubos considered fundamental was to be criticized by Louis Riccoboni as

being too wide. Dubos's demand that tragic actors should "mettre un air de grandeur et de dignité dans tout ce qu'ils font" was to be experienced by Riccoboni as a level of formalism and mannerism which conflicted with "la nature et la vérité" (*Pensées sur la déclamation*, p.37).

Just as his discussion of the declamation of antiquity had enabled Dubos to tighten the meaning of his description of the style of tragic delivery, so his discussion of gesture on foreign stages permitted him to be more precise about the nature of noble gesture. The Italians made insufficient difference between tragic and comic styles for Dubos: "En Italie, les Acteurs récitent la Tragédie du même ton et avec les mêmes gestes qu'ils récitent la Comédie" (I, p.403). This is an interesting comment in light of Louis Riccoboni's difficulty in appreciating the style of French tragic acting which he encountered in Paris in 1716. A certain deliberate grace and dignity therefore was to be given to tragic gesture. In the process certain gestures were to be excluded from the tragedian's repertoire; gestures such as those used to show anger and rage on a foreign stage where "il étoit permis à Jules César de s'arracher les cheveux, ainsi que le feroit un homme de la lie du peuple", or where "Alexandre, pour mieux marquer son emportement, y pouvoit frapper du pied" (I, p.406).

Just as in oratorical delivery the notion of decorous gesture had been formulated in accordance with contemporary theories regarding élite behaviour, so in tragic acting gestural expression was regulated by the dominating social group.

As far as French tragic acting was concerned Dubos upheld the taste and style of the late seventeenth century. However his remarks on gesture in the context of the theatre of Antiquity partake of the spirit of eighteenth-century reformers. As Louis and François Riccoboni were to do, Dubos emphasised the importance of the face, and in particular the eyes, in expression of emotion on stage, and it is for this reason that he criticizes use of masks:

ces masques faisoient perdre aux spectateurs le plaisir de voir naître les passions, et de reconnaître leurs différens symptômes sur le visage des Acteurs. Toutes les expressions d'un homme passionné nous affectent bien; mais les signes de la passion qui se rendent sensibles sur son visage, nous affectent beaucoup plus que les signes de la passion qui se rendent sensibles par le moyen de son geste et par la voix...les yeux sont la partie du visage, qui, pour ainsi dire, nous parle le plus intelligiblement

(III, p.192-4).

Growing interest in facial expression and eye movements was perceptible in writings on oratorical delivery from 1657 but it was only in the eighteenth century that such forms of emotional expression were given priority over the voice. At the same time as this particular element

in gestural expression of feeling is recognized, a corresponding re-evaluation of gesture in general was effected. As we have seen in chapter two, seventeenth-century critics tended to identify the art of mime with a low, licentious, improper form of entertainment. Gestural expression in order to be decorous and appropriate had to obey a certain code of social etiquette; orator and serious actor thus had to concentrate on vocal expression of emotion reinforced by controlled use of gesture. During the eighteenth century so strict and limited a conception of stage gesture was to be loosened, and the moral judgment of an art of body-language was removed. Dubos' place in the development of what may be termed the "pantomime movement" in France is central. For in the third volume of the *Réflexions* Dubos countered St. Cyprian's indictment of the *pantomime* by citing Lucian's attitude which clearly placed the *pantomime* in the ranks of the liberal artists. As Dubos explained, Lucian "après avoir parlé de la taille, de la souplesse, de la légèreté et de l'oreille qu'il doit avoir...ajoute, qu'il n'est pas plus difficile de trouver un visage à la fois doux et majestueux. Il veut ensuite qu'on enseigne à cet Acteur, la musique, l'histoire, et je ne sçai combien d'autres choses capables de faire mériter le nom d'homme de lettres à celui qui les auroit apprises" (III, pp.269-70). In Dubos' *Réflexions* are reflected some of the factors which operated to

determine tragic acting style in the early decades of the eighteenth century. On the one hand appreciation of the formal dignity and manner of traditional tragic declamation, costume and gesture. On the other a new recognition of the power and charm of gestural expression alone, when used freely and forcefully to show emotion.

LOUIS RICCOBONI'S WRITINGS ON ACTING AND DECLAMATION

Between the *Réflexions* of Dubos and the appearance in 1747 of Rémond de Sainte-Albine's *Le Comédien*, one writer's works dominate the field of writings on the art of acting. This writer was the Italian actor, Luigi Riccoboni, who had been summoned to Paris by the Regent in 1716 to restore an Italian troupe of actors to the capital. A fascinating figure in the history of the eighteenth-century French stage, Riccoboni, both through theory and practice was to have a major influence on the development of acting theory and technique in France⁴⁹. Had he never written a line on acting, Louis Riccoboni would have merited mention in discussion of evolving acting styles in eighteenth-century Paris. The impact which a talented troupe of Italian actors, whose imperfect French at first compelled them to heighten gesture as a means of communication, must have had at a time

when theoreticians were already turning their interest to gesture rather than voice is immeasurable. The theatres of the Fairs, forced to use non-spoken means of dramatic expression had indicated the potential of mime, but it was the Riccoboni troupe which revealed the way mimetic technique and movement could be incorporated into scripted drama. From their first appearance in Paris, critics praised the troupe for their ability to show feeling so well through gesture and movement. The *Mercur* of mai 1716 for example claimed that "on ne peut rien désirer en eux du côté de l'action, du naturel, de la présence d'esprit...ils ont l'art d'animer, de passionner tellement ce qu'ils jouent, qu'ils se rendent maîtres du sentiment". Louis' wife, Elena, was isolated for particular praise, again on the basis of her natural gesture and movement: "un jeu de mouvemens, d'attitudes et d'action si variées, si justes et si naturelles" (p.287). Of course to some extent attention had to be focused on gesture since the troupe knew insufficient French to perform French plays and for the first two years of their stay in Paris their repertoire was acted largely in Italian. However the distinctively gestural quality of their acting was not abandoned once plays in French were staged from February 1718. Emphasis on the self-sufficient communicative power of gesture remained a characteristic of the troupe's acting long after the language barrier had been removed. Indeed the style of

acting which Marivaux's plays so frequently call for, demanded that the gestural emphasis be continued. Silvia, the Italian actress praised by Boindin for the fact that "son action en dit plus que son discours"⁵⁰, was the ideal interpreter of Marivaux's leading females whose eyes and glances would reveal before their words, their feelings and attractions. Silvia would have known how to put into practice in her acting Marivaux's belief that "il y a des manières qui valent les paroles; on dit je vous aime avec un regard, et on le dit bien"⁵¹.

Louis Riccoboni was already an experienced actor by the time he arrived in Paris. He had entered his father's *commedia dell'arte* troupe in 1690 at the age of 16, and by 1698 he had been made leader of his own troupe. Louis' dramatic interests were not limited to the *canevas* of the comic tradition however. He studied ancient and modern theatre and began to include tragedies and comedies in the repertoire. Between 1700 and 1705 Riccoboni acted with another troupe called the *Compagnie de Diane*, writing and adapting tragedies and comedies to enrich their repertoire. After marrying the well-educated Elena Balletti, who was also from an acting family, Riccoboni turned to acting for literary academies and it was at this stage of his career that he translated Racine's *Andromaque* and *Britannicus*.

into Italian. By the time Louis came to write about acting and theatre critically therefore, he had experienced a wide range of different styles and levels of drama. His ideas on acting and delivery as a result were startlingly original, free of conventional attitudes, approaches and terminology. Riccoboni's knowledge of different traditions, ancient/modern, comic/tragic, literary/popular, enabled him to approach the business of acting in a more open, more penetrating manner. Similarly, having been bred in the Italian theatre rather than the French, Riccoboni was free of the conditioning which identified the highest form of acting with a very particular style of declamation. Riccoboni's thoughts on acting and delivery in his *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (1728)⁵², and his *Pensées sur la déclamation* (1738), formulate a new aesthetic for both types of speaking, an aesthetic based upon the performer's emotional sensitivity and his ability to identify with his subject. Effective delivery is made the result of an intuitive, sensed process rather than a systematic, analytical approach. At the same time as a formal method is abandoned in favour of a personal response, so the formal style of traditional declamation is rejected for a style in which the voice will be infinitely varied according to natural impulse and gesture will follow "ce naturel instinctif...se mouvoir sans artifice" (*DAR*, II).

As has been seen already, unlike Poisson and Dubos Riccoboni could see no merit in the heavily-cadenced, emphatic style of delivery practised on the French tragic stage. Accustomed to a type of acting in which, on Dubos' authority, the tragic and comic registers were not so sharply defined, Riccoboni found French declamation artificial, mannered and "extravagant" (*DAR,V*). According to Riccoboni, cadenced delivery had been adopted in France and Italy in an attempt to return to the style of classical declamation. However only in France had it persisted on the professional stage, Riccoboni explained, for "la réforme s'est faite en Italie: de mon temps déjà, et même auparavant, les comédiens avaient oublié ce mauvais usage". In 1728 cadenced delivery was still practised in Italian academies and on the professional French tragic stage: "cette manière se reconnaît encore en Italie, à travers le chantonnement adopté dans la déclamation de nos académies... En France, il est encore de mode; et la plus grande partie du public a le goût aussi corrompu que les déclamateurs dont il écoute le chant" (*DAR,V*). Significantly in light of our knowledge of Mlle Lecouvreur's style of delivery, Riccoboni excluded this actress from his criticism of French tragic performers: "la charmante Lecouvreur est seule à ne pas trotter sur ce chemin où ses camarades galopent en compagnie à qui mieux mieux...elle n'a pas besoin de leurs épouvantables hurlements pour t'émouvoir au point de te faire pleurer avec elle" (*DAR,V*). For Riccoboni the term *déclamation*

did not by definition require "éclats de voix", "mots allongés et traînés avec monotonie" (*PD*, p.33), nor a particularly cadenced flavour. He expanded the concept of declamation to include all types and registers of speaking: "tout ce qui est du ressort de la langue qui articule et qui parle...il n'y a pas de discours familier, qui, dans les tons qui lui sont convenables, en soit exempt" (*PD*, p.9). What distinguished declamation from ordinary speech in Riccoboni's thought was not the style or range of sounds employed but the speaker's attitude and his persuasive intention. Acting and oratory were both types of declamation because they sought to persuade an audience by making them feel certain emotions. Where earlier writers had conceived such emotional persuasion to be dependent upon a certain formal range of voice and gesture, Riccoboni centred the problem in the speaker himself. For Riccoboni emotional persuasion would be effective only if the speaker were himself sufficiently in sympathy with the text to be moved by it. His affective tones and gestures would proceed instinctively from his "enthousiasme", and would move more deeply than prescribed sounds and movements. Essential to Riccoboni's concept of emotional persuasion were a particular notion of illusion and a certain sort of artistic temperament.

Both in his advice to the orator and in his thoughts on acting, Riccoboni suggested that it was the speaker's function to deliver a text with such total commitment that, to others, the lines appeared to be spontaneous expression of feeling. To the orator Riccoboni recommended that he "déclamé si naturellement, qu'il force...les Spectateurs à croire que tout ce qu'il dit il le pense dans l'instant même" (PD, p.32). To the actor he advised that "la première règle est de supposer que tu es seul, malgré les mille personnes qui sont devant toi" (DAR,V), for the perfect theatrical illusion would only be achieved if "l'Acteur de Théâtre en représentant sur la Scene s'y prend de façon à nous persuader que ce sont les Personnages-mêmes que nous entendons, et non pas le Comédien qui les représente" (PD, p.32).

To achieve this illusion of reality it was necessary, according to Riccoboni, for the speaker to be in some degree inspired by his material, for reason and judgment to be transported by feeling, by *l'âme*. Orators, like poets, should "(entrer)aussi en enthousiasme en déclamant, de la même façon qu'ils ont fait en composant. Si l'âme qui en a inspiré les pensées en dicte pareillement la prononciation, les tons seront vrais, et seront variés à l'infini, depuis l'héroïque le plus élevé, jusqu'au familier le plus simple"

(*PD*, p.15). Just as tonal variation would be determined by "l'enthousiasme d'âme", so gesture would be appropriately affective without study of rules or careful preparation, for "celui qui entrera fortement dans l'enthousiasme nécessaire, et qui déclamera dans les tons de l'âme, parviendra à faire que son visage réponde et accompagne les expressions de la parole par les changemens de couleur que le sang lui prêterait et par les mouvemens diversifiés que les muscles lui fourniraient" (*PD*, pp.23-4). For the actor this meant that one must try to identify as strongly as possible with the character one had to play, and "(chercher) si bien à sentir ce que tu exprimes que les affaires d'autrui semblent tes propres affaires" (*DAR*,II). Thus the actor playing Oreste should "ruminer l'état d'âme extravagant d'Oreste pour inspirer l'horreur et l'épouvante" (*DAR*,III) since "si tu éprouves en ton coeur les blessures de l'amour, de la colère, de la jalousie...tu sentiras véritablement l'amour, et la colère, et la jalousie...et tu remueras tes bras et tes jambes sans artifice" (*DAR*,II). The talent of the actor or orator lay no longer in study and diligent practice with a master of honoured precepts, it depended rather on the emotional sensitivity of the artist himself and on his individual gifts. Thus Riccoboni advised the actor, "pour donner la vie à ton regard, tu n'as pas besoin de maître; tu en trouveras un, à volonté, en toi-même, si

tu consultes toujours ton propre coeur. Ressens la crainte, et ton regard abattu l'exprimera" (*DAR*,V). Similarly the orator will be able to use his arms suitably once he accepts that "c'est de la nature seule qu'on a le don de les remuer avec dignité et avec grâce" (*PD*, p.25). Techniques such as rehearsal before a mirror, recommended in traditional advice on declamation, would be of no value since such mechanical preparation would reveal itself in an artificial, mannered expression of feeling: "Toute la peine qu'il pourroit se donner avec le secours d'un Miroir, et toute son étude ne lui feroient acquérir que de l'affectation dans les bras, et non la vérité" (*PD*, p.25). The actor who "calcule tous ses pas selon le nombre prescrit", and who, following traditional rules of delivery "selon la ligne établie... déploie ses bras avec soin en haut et en bas" (*DAR*,II) would betray by his manner that "avant de chausser le cothurne ou le brodequin", he had "longtemps exercé devant son miroir, pour donner à son geste une suprême retouche" (*DAR*,II)⁵³.

However, although Riccoboni rejected both the manner and approach of traditional declamation, advocating instead a more nuanced, personally appropriate way of expressing emotion, his conception of tragic acting retained some features of the French style considered by so many to be

The epitome of dignity and grace. Although he had decried the artifice of French tragic declamation, Riccoboni emphasized that "les Muses veulent que le discours en vers soit soutenu d'une autre manière que le langage commun". To describe the "manière naturelle et majestueuse à la fois de dire les vers" was impossible however and "il faut seulement avoir une oreille juste, et qui distingue le bon du mauvais" (*DAR*, V). Similarly, although the tragic character should be "humanized" so that "le peuple lui-même puisse se le représenter, sans être dérouté par des manières surprenantes", it was important not to portray such characters with certain vulgar gestures such as leaning one's elbows on one's knees, crossing one's legs or chewing one's glove (*DAR*, III). These examples are particularly interesting since certain of them were identified by J.-B. Rousseau with techniques used by Baron, the actor who was to represent for later eighteenth-century apologists of acting, all that was best in the new, "natural" school of tragic acting. Baron had been a member of Molière's troupe from 1670, playing such rôles as Ariste (*Femmes Savantes*) and Britannicus. After Molière's death Baron moved to the Hôtel de Bourgogne and succeeded to Floridor's rôles. In 1673 he played Mithridate, in 1674 Achille (*Iphigénie*) and in 1677 Hippolyte (*Phèdre*). He continued to play leading tragic rôles after the creation of the Comédie-Française in 1680 and by 1691 when he retired

he had acquired a reputation as an outstanding tragic actor⁵⁴. During his retirement Baron performed privately at Versailles, Marly and Sceaux. His connections with Sceaux put him in contact with a group of amateurs and professionals keenly interested in the expressive power of mime. In 1714 the last act of Corneille's *Horace* was performed for the Sceaux circle "en pantomime" by the dancers Balon and Mlle Prévost, an experiment which was successful and widely discussed. To some extent Baron's experiences during his retirement must have conditioned his decision to adopt what Elena Balletti was to call his "nuova maniera" of acting when he returned to the stage in 1720. Reference has already been made to the fact that not all critics found Baron's new approach to tragic acting appropriate⁵⁵. His attempt to deliver tragic verse in a more conversational manner and to use gesture with less regard for grace and nobility than for expressive power offer crucial evidence of the style of acting then current on the French stage and the degree of divergence from this style which the advocates of reform were prepared to accept. The reactions of Louis Riccoboni's wife, Elena Balletti, are particularly revealing in this context.

In a letter to l'abbé de Conti in 1729 Elena described in detail why she considered Baron's new approach to

tragic delivery to be imperfect. What principally offended Elena's ear was the fact, not that Baron delivered his lines in "un naturel qui alloit jusqu'au familier" (as Collé claimed⁵⁶), but that he mixed declamation of the traditional kind with delivery in a familiar tone. Where Collé was to state that Baron "ne déclamaît jamais"⁵⁷, Elena's experience was that sometimes Baron allowed himself to be "entraîné par la nécessité de soutenir le vers, les sentiments du héros ou la situation et que, partant, il déclame souvent comme les autres et crie le plus haut qu'il peut"⁵⁸. Inevitably this produced "des disparates dans sa diction, tantôt élevée, tantôt familière" which shocked Elena's ear and sense of propriety for "dans la même scène et dans le même acteur je trouve un Horace de tragédie et un personnage comique comme Dorante". Elena's comparison is revealing, suggesting Baron's new style of tragic delivery resembled that used to portray the nobler characters of the comic stage. In part the distinction between tragic declamation and delivery of high comedy lay in the decision to bring out or to play down the rhythmic quality of the verse. Elena pointed out that Baron "fait tous ses efforts pour escamoter la rime" and Collé was to describe Baron as breaking up "la mesure des vers de telle sorte que l'on ne sentoit point l'insupportable monotonie du vers alexandrin"⁵⁹. Both Elena and Collé were agreed however that to deliver tragic verse in the same style as comic verse detracted from the

particular appeal of the tragic muse. As Collé explained, "le beau vers ne gagnait rien avec lui, et l'on avait de la peine à démêler dans son débit s'il récitait des vers de Racine ou de La Chaussée; il ne rendait jamais le vers, mais la situation, mais le sentiment"⁶⁰. Elena confirms this opinion, for in her view Baron seemed to "s'appliquer à rendre les vers méconnaissables en faisant disparaître à un tel point tout leur relief et en les débitant sur le ton de la conversation familière". Three precise examples will illustrate the way Baron altered the established manner of delivering certain tragic scenes.

The first is that mentioned by Elena and relating to *Mithridate*, III, i., a passage in which Mithridate "annonce à ses fils son dessein de marcher sur Rome et de faire la guerre aux Romains". Presumably until Baron's time this speech had provided the tragedian with opportunity to indulge in the stentorian dramatic statement, a technique which is perhaps suited to a passage of 108 lines. Baron however refused to indulge in the traditional tirade at this point and tried to interpret Mithridate as father taking his sons into his confidence, rather than as soldier. The experiment would appear to have been unsuccessful for, as Elena explained, the excitement of the passage vanished when delivered "sur un ton aussi indifférent, aussi froid,

aussi familier que s'il les entretenait d'un projet d'importance tout à fait secondaire". A similar attempt to change emphatic emotional expression to a less heroic style was made by Baron in his interpretation of César in *La Mort de Pompée*, III,ii. According to the *Mercur* until Baron's performance in 1721, César's entrance and reply to Ptolomée: *Connaissiez-vous César, de lui parler ainsi ?*, had been delivered in anger. Baron however tried to feel behind the lines and behave with the dignity of a ruler instead of falling into the obvious heated emotion, and he had delivered these lines "d'un ton calme" while looking disdainfully at Ptolomée⁶¹. The third example of Baron's new style is to be found in the anecdote relating to his interpretation of Pyrrhus' closing lines in *Andromaque* I,iv: *Madame, en l'embrassant, songez à le sauver*. According to Chamfort Baron altered the style of this line by changing it from a threatening, dramatic exit line to one of more tender appeal: "il employait, au lieu de la menace, l'expression pathétique de l'intérêt et de la pitié; et au geste touchant dont il accompagnait ces mots, *en l'embrassant*, il sembloit tenir Astyanax entre ses mains et le présenter à sa mère"⁶². As this final example reveals, Baron's new approach to tragic delivery was tightly bound up with his introduction of a more flexible and wider range of tragic gesture. A comparison of Chauveau's engraving to *Andromaque*

(1676) reproduced in plate 15, which illustrates this scene, with Chamfort's description of Baron's gesture, indicates the extent to which Baron moved away from the grand manner towards a more sentimental style. For in Chauveau's engraving Pyrrhus is shown in an attitude similar to that described by Bary as one of "Règne", an attitude which "marque l'infériorité de ceux dont on parle" (*Méthode pour bien prononcer*, p.79), and the body is carefully held to convey the most noble, graceful posture. The stance and gesture of Pyrrhus in Chauveau's engraving are those of the strong-willed soldier-hero, whereas Baron's interpretation is more suggestive of the "man of feeling". Although of course Chauveau's engraving does not faithfully reproduce the scene as it would have appeared on the stage of the period, it does indicate the spirit of his age and the interpretation which was given to this scene, an interpretation considerably less domestic than that of Baron.

To discuss Baron's revolutionary approach to tragic delivery before mentioning his approach to gesture is to treat cause before effect perhaps. For it seems highly likely that Baron was led to a more natural spoken register because of the way he tried to identify personally with his rôle and to react with gesture accordingly. A parallel may be drawn here between the different approaches adopted by

poetry reciter and actor today. Like Baron's contemporaries on the tragic stage the modern poetry reciter is concerned with bringing out the beauty and feeling expressed by the poetry of his text. He does not have to create a character to produce a moving piece of delivery; his tones and inflexions have been carefully prepared and fixed in his mind; gesture is limited by the fact that he is in a static, frontal-facing position and is not having to perform pieces of acting business or to co-ordinate his gesture with other figures on the stage. The poetry reciter will thus use facial expression and, in certain circumstances manual gesture to accompany what he sees as his main purpose, clear, emotive delivery of lines. The modern actor on the other hand traditionally seeks the character of his rôle in order so to identify with his subject that he will be able to find appropriate expression, whether vocal or gestural, through imaginative intuition. The two aspects, voice and gesture are not seen as separate entities as far as modern acting is concerned. It would appear that this was also Baron's attitude, an attitude which conditioned a new response to both voice and gesture. As Aiguebarre explained in the *Seconde lettre du souffleur de la Comédie de Rouen* (1730), Baron's style of tragic acting was developed through a new approach to character. By seeking to identify with the person of his rôle, Baron was led to use voice and gesture in such a way that he

seemed to be more genuinely moved by the feelings of his part than did fellow actors in their rôles. For Aiguebarre, Baron was able so to transform himself into his character that the illusion seemed real, a demand which Louis Riccoboni was to make of the actor in his theoretical writings: Instead of attempting to bring out the impressive lines, instead of being satisfied to convey the broad characteristics of a passion, Baron tried to suggest an individual and the more nuanced expression of feeling which such an individual might show: "bien éloigné d'appuyer sur chaque vers et sur chaque mot, et de faire briller avec affectation les beautés qui pouvoient frapper, il ne montrait les pensées que par les sentimens...lorsque cet Acteur soupiroit, se plaignoit, aimoit, entroit en fureur, tous ses mouvemens étoient tels que son amour, sa fureur, sa crainte etc paroisoient véritables. Il sçavoit caracteriser toutes ces passions par ce qu'elles ont de particulier et non seulement il ne les confondoit point les unes avec les autres, mais il les distinguoit en elles-mêmes par mille circonstances propres aux personnages dont il étoit revêtu"⁶³. Although it is impossible to assess the degree of naturalness of Baron's acting, it is clear that to contemporary audiences his style seemed closer to ordinary experience than had formerly been the case on the tragic stage. Further indication of the extent to which Baron's

acting moved towards modern stage convention and differed from the seventeenth-century tragic manner is afforded by Elena Balletti's praise of the way Baron sustained his characterization. Unlike those actors criticized by Grimarest and Poisson, "il écoute toujours son partenaire", which Elena agreed was an aspect of acting "dont les acteurs en général se soucient trop peu". Moreover, he did not only listen to the actor speaking, he attempted to react to that actor's words with gestural expression: "sa façon d'écouter est accompagnée des jeux de physionomie et des attitudes qui répondent à la nature des paroles qu'il écoute". As Elena suggested, this use of gestural expression outside the limits of one's own spoken lines was new to the tragic stage, introducing a different concept of stage action as a "slice of life", with correspondingly greater distance established between actor and audience⁶⁴.

However just as his style of delivery seemed at times to fall below the level acceptable to contemporary spectators of tragedy, so Baron's more natural range of gesture sometimes seemed more appropriate to the comic than to the tragic stage. Even those who admired Baron and could appreciate those over-familiar effects in the person of Baron, recognized as Aiguebarre did that "cette simplicité...a pû plaire dans cet Acteur...Mais il n'est point naturel

qu'elle produise le même effet dans de jeunes Acteurs"⁶⁵. As Elena Balletti pointed out, Baron's tragic acting style may have been patterned on normal behaviour and have been truer to life, but it was not true to the conventions of the tragic stage as they then were and, as a result, it was unacceptable to many:

J'ai, sans doute, trouvé constamment de la vérité et du naturel dans la manière de M. Baron; mais, comme la nature n'est pas toujours belle et que toute vérité ne convient pas à la scène, aussi me semble-t-il que parfois son jeu n'est pas en harmonie avec le sujet. S'il est incontestable que les héros de tragédie, en tant qu'ils sont des hommes, ne doivent pas sortir de la nature, il est assurément vrai aussi que les exploits des héros tragiques, la noblesse de leur naissance, la hauteur de leur condition exigent que, chez eux, la nature ait de la majesté et de la dignité 66

To discover what exactly these undignified gestures used by Baron were, we must return to Louis Riccoboni's examples of "façons vulgaires" given in *Dell'arte rappresentativa*. The first is particularly relevant since it was identified by J.-B. Rousseau with Baron's interpretation of Antiochus in *Rodogune* (V,iii):

Un monarque est assis en face de sa cour: avec son manteau d'or, il doit exprimer la majesté, imposer le respect; il reçoit un ambassadeur... et c'est en croisant les jambes qu'il l'écoute parler, et en mordillant son gant

(DAR, V).

Louis Riccoboni's reaction would appear to have been

similar to that of his wife:

J'entendais le murmure de la foule imbécile, qui s'écriait à l'unisson: quel naturel! C'est ainsi que je me suis tenu moi-même plus d'une fois...De telles manières ne conviennent pas à un roi; et si, par hasard un roi s'y abandonne, ce n'est pas une raison pour faire comme lui sur les planches. Cela n'est bon que pour une contrefaçon de roi. La Nature, dites-vous. Mais la Nature doit se montrer dans sa beauté, et n'est pas admise au théâtre qu'à ce prix...on est moins sévère en comédie.

J.-B. Rousseau, writing to Riccoboni to congratulate him on *Dell'arte rappresentativa*, was not so strict in his judgment, claiming that "cette action excitait dans l'âme des spectateurs autant d'émotion que toute la scène entière". However he acknowledged Riccoboni to be right in not recommending such techniques to aspirant actors: "vous faites cependant très bien de ne pas risquer une pareille...une telle action faite par un acteur du commun exciterait, comme vous dites fort bien, la risée des spectateurs"⁶⁷. Like Aiguebarre Rousseau was willing and able to be moved by Baron's freer use of gesture, but he could not foresee a time when it would be possible or appropriate for all tragic acting to proceed along the lines set by Baron. Some further examples will indicate by contrast the extent to which French tragic acting of this period followed standards of social etiquette similar to those prescribed for the orator.

Louis Riccoboni gave another example of undignified tragic gesture which may also have been based upon his experience of Baron's acting: a king seated with "ses coudes sur ses genoux" and "son menton dans ses mains". This was apparently given a mixed reception by the public, "les sages riaient, les ignorants admiraient" (*DAR*, III). Even to a modern audience such behaviour might seem incompatible with monarchy, but less offensive would be the interpretation of Horace described by Elena Balleti and which she considered inappropriate. "Quand Horace, au plus fort de la situation, une première fois pour affermir la confiance de sa femme, et une seconde fois pour soutenir le courage de Curiace, saisit par le bras son interlocuteur", she explained, "et dans l'une et l'autre scène, lui porte sa main sur la poitrine et sur le coeur pour lui faire mieux comprendre la grandeur de ses sentiments; la nature et la vérité qu'il me représente en pareil cas ne sont pas celles d'un héros, mais d'un bourgeois, d'un marchand, d'un simple soldat à qui un tel geste conviendrait très bien". For Elena this sort of gesture conflicted with her conception of the hero, and in her opinion a better way of portraying this scene would be for the actor, "tout en gardant six pas de distance avec la personne à laquelle il parle", to show "par son regard et par une certain ton de voix...que c'est à son coeur qu'il s'adresse"⁶⁸. To act the tragic hero "naturally" Elena argued, was not

a simple case of replacing the traditional grand manner with the comic approach to voice and gesture. Even if an actor had to "représenter un geste royal qu'il aurait pu voir, et s'il avait vu un roi faire ce geste avec de si grandes marques de familiarité", he should not model his acting on this experience and "imiter une telle vérité, susceptible de rompre la noblesse de son rang et de son action". The tragic actor's business therefore was to convey an idealized conception of nobility, to imitate "la belle nature" rather than real life. The problem was to determine at what point the ideal began to appear mannered and unnatural. Clearly by the early eighteenth century aspects of the previous period's taste seemed artificial and the tragic actor was being asked to reduce the grandeur of his interpretation somewhat. Elena suggests where the new eighteenth-century ideal was to be situated in her recommendation that the midpoint between Baron's style and that of the traditional French tragic manner would be best: "la manière adoptée par elle [la troupe française] jusqu'à ce jour est si éloignée de la vérité, et de tout ce qu'on peut imaginer, qu'en se rapprochant de la vérité de M. Baron, elle n'ira jamais dans son imitation jusqu'à descendre à la basse familiarité qu'il atteint. Et si jamais un accord était possible entre l'invraisemblable dignité des tragédiens français et le moindre accent de naturel et de vérité, heureux les auditeurs d'un tel Spectacle".

The picture which emerges of Baron's style of tragic acting then is more suggestive of the *comédie larmoyante* or the *drame* and the style of acting which must have corresponded to this, than of seventeenth-century tragedy. The style of Greuze rather than Poussin would offer an appropriate parallel. The way Baron threw his arm around Xipharès' shoulder in *Mithridate* (III,i) before saying the lines beginning *Mon fils, ne parlons plus d'une mère infidèle*, a scene which Elena had also noted to have been delivered in tones of flat indifference, it will be remembered, is reminiscent of the sort of gesture and attitude to be found in Greuze's domestic scenes. A similar example of the same type of domestic gesture used by Baron in tragedy, is provided by La Porte's anecdote relating to Baron's interpretation of Sévère. According to La Porte, in act IV scene vi of *Polyeucte*, Baron moved towards Fabian and placed his hand on his shoulder during the line, *Nous en avons beaucoup pour être de vrais dieux*⁶⁹. In the 1720s this type of gesture, however appropriate to the sense of the passage, was seen as unfitting for the dignity of a monarch. As Elena suggested, somewhere between the grand manner and this more familiar approach lay the new model for tragic acting.

Louis Riccoboni's writings on the business of delivery and

tragic acting represent a significant departure from the thought of earlier French writers on the subject.

Riccoboni rejects the seventeenth-century aesthetic in which an art may be formulated in terms of reasoned precepts and systematic analysis, emphasising instead the importance of artistic sensitivity and sympathetic identification as a source of expression. Where Poisson had merely incorporated the idea that the orator/actor should involve himself with the feelings of his text into a traditional presentation of rules, Riccoboni bases his entire discussion of delivery upon the principle of "enthousiasme". This re-orientation of the source of emotional expression from the artist's Reason to his Soul gave new importance to gesture as a component of expressive delivery. Where previously gesture (the sensual element) had been subordinated to voice and had been accorded the rôle of accompanying spoken expression, in Riccoboni's scheme body-language is valued above tonal variation as an indicator of the feelings. The source of artistic expression being the Soul rather than the Reason implied that feeling would reveal itself in the body before it expressed itself in speech. The artist who had imaginatively identified with his subject would therefore show an emotion with his eyes and face before delivering his lines and revealing it in his tone and tempo. Moreover such identification replaced the need

for prescriptive rules describing the gestures and tones characteristic of emotions, for the truly sensitive artist would arrive at these intuitively once his imagination had been stimulated. Appropriate vocal and gestural expression were no longer to be regulated by a consciously mastered code, they were to be determined by the artist's intuition.

REMOND DE SAINTE-ALBINE AND LE COMEDIEN (1747)

By the time the first text in French specifically concerned with acting appeared in 1747, the break with the rhetorical tradition had already been made. Grimarest had emphasized that feeling might express itself, and should therefore be represented in diverse manners according to the circumstances and individual. This was further reiterated by Poisson and more particularly Louis Riccoboni. Both traditional approach to and style of declamation had been modified and realigned with eighteenth-century psychological theory. Louis Riccoboni rejected the idea that the art of delivery could be reduced to systematic principles and replaced it with a concept of artistic sensitivity and sympathetic identification. At the same time as the rhetorical method was cast aside the style of declamation which it had conditioned was similarly rejected: emphatic, cadenced delivery seeking strong emotional effects was replaced by a concept of more nuanced expression of feeling

in which gestural language would play a more important part so as to convey character to a greater extent than previously. By the time Rémond de Sainte-Albine's *Le Comédien* appeared⁷⁰, the move towards a concept of acting as expression of character through gesture and speech had been made, both in theory and practice. A new generation of dramatists and performers had replaced Corneille and Racine, Montfleury and Mlle Champmeslé, and were operating within the new aesthetic revealed by Louis Riccoboni. Of the new school of performers it was to be Mlle Dumesnil who was best to epitomize the more vigorous style of tragic acting which was to continue to develop throughout the century. Her performance in Voltaire's *Mélope* (1743) made stage history as being the first time a tragic actress had run on stage. As Voltaire's description of the high-point of Mlle Dumesnil's performance reveals, a very different style of acting from that criticized by Louis Riccoboni less than twenty years previously had established itself on the French stage.

For Dumesnil acted *Mélope* IV,ii in the following manner:

les yeux égarés, la voix entrecoupée, levant une main tremblante, elle allait immoler son propre fils; quand Narbas l'arrêta, quand laissant tomber son poignard, on la vit s'évanouir entre les bras de ses femmes, et qu'elle sortit de cet état de mort, avec les transports d'une mère; lorsqu'ensuite s'élançant aux yeux de Polifonte, traversant en un clin d'oeil tout le théâtre, les larmes aux yeux, la pâleur sur le front, les sanglots à la bouche, les bras étendus, elle s'écria, *Barbare, il est mon fils*⁷¹.

The sensibility and *enthousiasme* which Dumesnil showed in her acting corresponded to Louis Riccoboni's demands and was identified characteristically with an intense personal emotive response on the part of the actress. Indeed, so fired by genuine emotion did Mlle Dumesnil appear to be that certain critics suggested her acting was the result of over-indulgence in alcohol, with the corresponding absence of judgment and sense of decorum which vinous liquid might induce⁷².

Le Comédien is characterized by a similar emphasis on the importance of sensibility and *leu* in acting. Like Louis Riccoboni, Rémond de Sainte-Albine examined acting from the point of view of the artist rather than the text. The most important quality was not the sublime expressivity and poetic beauty of the text, but the sensitivity of the actor which enabled him to express feeling to a supremely moving degree. In Rémond de Sainte-Albine's theory, the actor is raised to the level of a creative artist equal to the poet: "le Comédien est Peintre ainsi que le Poëte" (*Le C.*, p.24). *Le Comédien* is predominantly concerned therefore with examining the particular psychology which will produce the artist best able to express feeling. The emphasis on artistic sensitivity made by Louis Riccoboni assumes even greater proportions in Rémond de Sainte-Albine's thought as *sensibilité* is made an essential prerequisite

of expression of emotion. It was in reaction to this position that François Riccoboni, and later Diderot, were to argue, stressing that the actor need not personally feel to a painful degree in order to portray emotion in the most effective way. Examination of *Le Comédien* reveals the extent to which Rémond de Sainte-Albine expanded Louis Riccoboni's insistence on sensitivity, nuanced expression of feeling and identification with character, and yet remained faithful to the concept of tragic acting as an idiom raised above ordinary vocal or gestural expression.

"Sentiment" was for Rémond de Sainte-Albine, an essential quality of the actor, for this gave to actors "la facilité de faire succéder dans leur ame les diverses passions, dont l'homme est susceptible" (p.32). The actor who lacked sentiment would by definition therefore be unworthy of the name, and characteristically would better be termed a declaimer: "un Acteur, qui manque de sentiment, ne passe point pour un Comédien: il n'est regardé que comme un Déclamateur" (p.48). Just as the term *déclamation* came to be associated in the eighteenth century with the approach and style of acting practised on the seventeenth-century tragic stage, so *déclamateur* is used by Rémond de Sainte-Albine to refer to the performer who aimed to bring out the qualities of the text and who lacked the emotive sensitivity which Sainte-Albine considered fundamental to the actor/artist.

As in Louis Riccoboni's writings, a certain ambivalence is attached to Sainte-Albine's use of the word *déclamation*. On the one hand he recognized and associated it with "cette récitation empoulée...ce chant aussi déraisonnable que monotone, qui n'étant point dicté par la nature, étourdit seulement les oreilles" (p.167), the style reformed by Mlle Lecouvreur and Baron. On the other he wished it to refer to the very particular style of delivery appropriate to the dignity of the tragic stage, in contrast with the type of speech employed in comedy. As he explained, "rien dans la Comédie ne doit être déclamé. C'est en general une loi indispensable pour les Acteurs Comiques, de réciter de la même manière, dont ils parleroient hors du Théâtre, s'ils étoient dans la même situation où se trouve leur personnage" (p.165). By contrast tragedy required "une prononciation plus imposante...la majesté de plusieurs morceaux des Pièces Tragiques exige...que les Acteurs les débitent majestueusement" (p.168). In tragedy therefore "le débit pompeux est admis, et même nécessaire" (p.168); the tragic actor must have a voice that is "forte, majestueuse et pathétique" able to "maîtriser l'attention... imprimer le respect...exciter de grands mouvemens" (pp.111-2). However, although "les Acteurs Tragiques ne sont point obligés, comme les Comiques, de faire toujours disparaître la rime" (p.172), it was no longer acceptable for tragic

verse to be delivered in a heavily-cadenced manner, with a pause at the caesura and the voice falling at the end of the line (p.171). Since however tragic verse tended to have sense pauses at the end of lines, there was a danger of cadence even when attempting to render meaning rather than rhythm. To remedy this Sainte-Albine recommended that the pausing be shortened or lengthened according to circumstances, and that lines which did not require "pompe" should be delivered "avec simplicité" so as to create variety (pp.172-3). Primarily however what distinguished "la véhémence de la déclamation" from the "feu... (*qui*) donne en quelque sorte la vie à l'action Théâtrale" (p.43) was the actor's involvement with his part. "Les Acteurs Tragiques veulent-ils nous faire illusion?", Sainte-Albine asked, then "ils doivent se la faire à eux-mêmes. Il faut qu'ils s'imaginent être, qu'ils soient effectivement ce qu'ils représentent, et qu'un heureux délire leur persuade que ce sont eux qui sont trahis, persécutés" (p.91). For Sainte-Albine therefore the degree of illusion produced for an audience was directly dependent upon the degree of illusion which the artist himself had elicited in his own imagination, a principle which both François Riccoboni and Diderot were to contest.

The inevitable corollary to Sainte-Albine's emphasis on

personal sensibility was the requirement that the tragic actor should personally match the psychology of his rôle. Ability to display certain emotions is linked to a natural predisposition towards these same emotions in the person of the actor himself. Thus, if one is to play a tragic hero one must have "l'âme élevée", a "fierté mâle" and a "noble enthousiasme" (p.88). Those playing lovers must similarly be "personnes nées pour aimer" since "la disposition à la tendresse est une condition nécessaire pour jouer les rôles d'Amans" (p.107). As F.Riccoboni and Diderot were to point out, this principle is inaccurate and the actor who is naturally hot-tempered will not necessarily portray anger on stage better than a more placid colleague.

Since Sainte-Albine was rather a theorist than a practitioner of acting himself, his advice remained more on the level of metaphysical speculation than practical suggestion. Thus while he emphasized the importance of gesture, he provided no indication as to the best way to cultivate gesture or manage it, as F.Riccoboni was to do. In common with the pattern seen in Grimarest, Poisson and L.Riccoboni however, Sainte-Albine stressed that expression of emotion should be adapted to the circumstances of character and situation, so that it would be nuanced rather than

the recognizable features of a particular universal concept of passion. The actor should not aim merely to copy "les effets d'une passion", but rather its "forme particulière, qui la distingue dans le sujet dont il entreprend d'être la copie" (p.137).

Rémond de Sainte-Albine's theory of acting is evidence of the greater demand for a more nuanced, more subtle style of acting which would correspond to the idea of actor as impersonator rather than deliverer of poetic emotion. The keywords of *Le Comédien*, *préparation*, *finesses*, *gradation*, *sentiment*, *nuances*, epitomize this approach, which may be further appreciated from the particular examples Sainte-Albine used to illustrate what he understood by these various terms. The first example from *Phèdre* (II,v) is designed to show how the actress should prepare a scene by graduating the emotional build-up. The actress is required to analyze her speeches minutely, grouping together those lines which would seem to indicate a single thought or feeling, and then changing tone significantly to suggest the introduction of a new thought or feeling. An exactly similar process was to be applied by Lekain and Larive later in the century⁷³.

To open this scene in which Phèdre declares her passion, Sainte-Albine suggests that the actress should deliver

the lines down to *Dans le fond de mon coeur vous ne pouvez pas lire*, rapidly so that, for this line, she may change speed and by delivering it "avec plus de lenteur" and with a sigh, express "ce qu'il lui en a coûté pour feindre une haine qu'elle ne ressentait pas" (p.200). A further rapid shift and return to a faster delivery and a "ton douloureux" for the following lines (to *Si pourtant à l'offense on mesure la peine*), would reveal Phèdre's agitation. Slower delivery would then be applied to bring out key-lines such as *Jamais femme ne fut plus digne de pitié*, which might also be preceded by a short pause to suggest that Phèdre is taking time to "examiner si elle peut hasarder l'expression qui se présente à son esprit" (p.201). The scene should continue in this fashion, alternating outbursts of agitation with slower, softer tones of shame and misery. Speed and tone are tied therefore to certain types of emotion as they were in rhetorical theory but, just as in Voltaire's dramaturgy, variations are made more frequently within a single passage. To a large extent Sainte-Albine's tonal recommendations are concordant with traditional rhetorical advice: shame and misery are correlated with slower delivery and lowered tones while ardent love is linked to a faster, higher register. As Sainte-Albine interprets the scene therefore, Phèdre would be shown torn between impetuous passion and self-recrimination and despair.

The second example, again from *Phèdre*, reinforces the idea that mid-eighteenth-century tragic delivery aimed at more variety of rhythm and intonation within the speech in order to convey greater complexity of emotional behaviour. In the speech beginning *Oui, prince, je languis, je brûle pour Thésée* therefore, the actress is advised to allow emotion to build-up within the passage by careful gradation of tone and speed. A transition to a "ton vraiment passionné" should occur at the question *Pourquoi sans Hippolyte/ Des héros de la Grèce assembla-t-il l'élite?* and continue "en croissant" from this point on. Particular focus should be given to the four lines beginning *Par vous aurait péri le monstre de la Crète* and the emotion should accumulate to "un torrent" on the lines *Un fil n'eût point assez rassuré votre amante* and *Moi-même devant vous j'aurais voulu marcher; / Et Phèdre au labyrinthe avec vous descendue.* However, where the seventeenth-century declamatory technique, keen to excite *le brouhaha*, would have continued the climax through to the final line of the speech, -Sainte-Albine indicates the difference in style of eighteenth-century tragic delivery in his recommendation that the actress follow the manner of the modern Lecouvreur. This actress, for the line *Se serait avec vous retrouvée ou perdue,* reduced the emphatic to "une tendresse" indicative of her anxious desire to "savoir quelle impression il a faite sur le

Prince"(p.206). To convey this she hesitated after *vous* and after *retrouvée*, slowing both pace and tone. The style of delivery produced by such a technique as Sainte-Albine describes, rich in sharp contrasts and juxtapositions corresponding to analysis of feeling, would have satisfied the expectations of later critics such as Marmontel who demanded that tragedy provide "le jeu des passions et le contraste des sentiments"⁷⁴.

The advice contained in *Le Comédien* is a further reflection of the sort of taste which governed the performance of tragedy in the 1740s. Sainte-Albine's recommendations correspond to Voltaire's comments on tragic acting in the period 1747-50 when, as G.Lote has pointed out, he required "que le comédien soit sensible et sache pleurer, qu'il mette dans sa diction des soupirs et des pauses répétées, qu'il parle quelquefois d'une voix haletante et accablée"⁷⁵.

Like Louis Riccoboni, Aigüebarre, Voltaire and many others, Sainte-Albine disliked the heavily rhythmic style of tragic delivery which rose and fell at and from the caesura, preferring a style of delivery and manner of phrasing based on sense and emotional movement. However, in common with Louis Riccoboni and Voltaire again, he expected tragic declamation to retain a certain tone and rhythm which would distinguish it from the delivery of comic verse. The same distinction made by Voltaire between "la mélopée"

and "la déclamation harmonieuse"⁷⁶ was made by Sainte-Albine in terms of "la récitation empoulée" and "la majesté du débit". Similarly Sainte-Albine emphasized as writers before him had done, the importance of nuanced expression of emotion based not on rules and patterns but on the artist's intuitive response when imaginatively involved. *Le Comédien* thus provides valuable evidence of trends which determined eighteenth-century taste in tragic acting and encouraged the actor to adopt a particular approach to his text. As Lekain's annotated rôles and detailed examination of character and context suggest⁷⁷, after 1750 the professional actor was prepared to analyze and study his rôles to an extent never previously considered necessary, basing his remarks not only on the advice of the dramatist or on the rules of *pronuntiatio*, but on a faith in his own artistic sensibility and sympathetic understanding of the character to be portrayed.

FRANCOIS RICCOBONI'S ART DU THEATRE (1750)

Where *Le Comédien* had been greeted with wide critical acclaim, a cooler response awaited the appearance in 1750 of François Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre*⁷⁸. Despite contemporary interest in acting, and the superior qualif-

ications of François Riccoboni, son of Louis Riccoboni and Elena Balletti, and himself a professional actor⁷⁹, his art of acting was judged by contemporary critics as intellectually inferior to *Le Comédien*. Inborn prejudice against the mechanical as opposed to the liberal arts, determined this response. The critic reviewing *L'Art du Théâtre* in the *Mercure de France* thus described the work as a suitable guide for the uneducated, routine actor, those who "n'ayant point eu d'éducation, ont besoin de règles pour le mécanisme de l'action et de la contenance". By contrast *Le Comédien* offered discussion of those "parties de l'art plus nobles et plus intéressantes", "esprit" and "coeur", and would be of more value to the actor of intellect and "esprit"⁸⁰. It is of course precisely the practical rules which François Riccoboni provided which prove most precious today in tracing the conventions and style of acting of the mid-eighteenth century. Together with *Le Comédien*, Riccoboni's study of acting offers valuable evidence of the aesthetic which governed the French stage at this period. For, as the critic of *L'Année littéraire* so justly remarked, "M. de Sainte Albine est un Philosophe qui raisonne, M. Riccoboni un maître qui enseigne...*L'Art du Théâtre* confirme par la pratique tout ce que *Le Comédien* démontre par la théorie"⁸¹.

On one particular point however Riccoboni differed signi-

ficantly from Sainte-Albine, and it was this issue which
 led critics to dub Riccoboni as insensitive and mechanical⁸².
 Against Sainte-Albine's correlation of depth of artistic
 effect with depth of emotional involvement by the artist,
 Riccoboni argued that "si l'on a le malheur de ressentir
 véritablement ce que l'on doit exprimer, on est hors d'état
 de jouer" (p.37), a contention which Diderot was to examine
 in his *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*. As has been seen through
 study of texts on oratorical delivery, this question of
 the extent to which the imagination should be allowed to
 govern artistic expression had concerned theorists for
 centuries. Within the period covered by this thesis however
 two contrasting attitudes are apparent. On the one hand
 there were those like Le Faucheur who reiterated the
 principle that "l'Orateur se doit former en luy mesme une
 forte idée du sujet et de sa passion" (p.209), but who
 nevertheless believed in the value of fundamental principles
 of emotional expression and careful preparation of one's
 material. By the end of the seventeenth century however
 a new "school" had formed in which it was suggested that
 personal identification with one's subject should replace
 intellectual analysis as a method of emotional expression.
 As a result new emphasis was placed on the speaker's sensi-
 tivity and his ability to feel for the appropriate tone
 and gesture rather than to seek them through intellectual
 processes. In the words of Leven de Templeri, "on ne

sauroit émouvoir si l'on n'est ému... (l'orateur) doit tirer de luy-même les passions qu'il veut inspirer à autrui"⁸³.

By the time François Riccoboni came to write his art of acting the pattern of thought on this question had moved still further towards emphasis on artistic sensitivity and sympathetic identification, as has been seen in Louis Riccoboni's writings and in *Le Comédien*. The demand for a less grand style of tragic acting, corresponding to changes in the social group that dominated artistic activity, expressed itself in a call for a style of emotional expression which more closely resembled the personal experience of members of this group. Since the actor's status had moved nearer to that of this social group by the eighteenth century, this call could be formulated as a demand for a style of emotional expression modelled on that of the actor's own personal experience. The spontaneous tones and movements which the actor would make when emotionally involved would be acceptable within this aesthetic. As a result the most valuable attribute an actor could have would be "âme/enthousiasme/sentiment/sensibilité/entrailles rather than judgment/taste/knowledge/diligence to study. The danger of this emphasis was that it came close to the concept of total illusion and negated the value of

study and practice. It was to place the non-rational elements of acting in their proper perspective that François Riccoboni's *Art du Théâtre* was directed. His analysis of the mechanism involved in acting, of the degree of personal identification between actor and rôle reveals very clearly his personal experience of acting.

Faithful to the rhetorical tradition François Riccoboni associates expression with expression of emotion: "l'on appelle expression, l'adresse par laquelle on fait sentir au spectateur tous les mouvemens dont on veut paroître pénétré" (p.36). Acting, like delivery, is seen as an art of pathetic persuasion. Where eighteenth-century theory had tended to stress that such pathetic persuasion was dependent on the artist himself being moved however, Riccoboni returns to a position closer to that of seventeenth-century writers on *pronuntiatio* and argues that "on veut le paroître, et non pas que l'on est pénétré véritablement". The experience of emotion, he explained is different for the artist during the process of creativity from that which he would experience personally in real life: "lorsqu'un Acteur rend avec la force nécessaire les sentimens de son rôle, le spectateur voit en lui la plus parfaite image de la vérité. Un homme qui seroit vraiment en pareille situation, ne s'exprimeroit pas d'une autre manière, et c'est jusqu'à ce point qu'il faut porter l'illusion pour bien

jouer". The illusion was not reality however:

Etonnés d'une si parfaite imitation du vrai, quelques-uns l'ont prise pour la vérité même, et ont cru l'Acteur affecté du sentiment qu'il représentoit. Ils l'ont accablé d'éloges, que l'Acteur méritoit, mais qui partoient d'une fausse idée...bien loin que je me sois jamais rendu à cet avis, qui est presque généralement reçu, il m'a toujours paru démontré que si l'on a le malheur de ressentir véritablement ce que l'on doit exprimer, on est hors d'état de jouer. Les sentimens se succèdent dans une scène avec une rapidité qui n'est point dans la nature. La courte durée d'une Pièce oblige à cette précipitation qui en rapprochant les objets donne à l'action Théâtrale toute la chaleur qui lui est nécessaire (pp.36-7).

Like Poisson, Riccoboni agreed that it was important that the actor should be affected physically to some degree, but not to the extent that he be carried away by his rôle, for this would cause his voice to be choked (or as Poisson termed it, he would "s'engouer"):

"Si dans un endroit d'attendrissement vous vous laissez emporter au sentiment de votre rôle, votre coeur se trouvera tout à coup serré, votre voix s'étouffera presque entièrement; s'il tombe une seule larme de vos yeux, des sanglots involontaires vous embarrasseront le gosier, il vous sera impossible de proférer un seul mot sans des hoquets ridicules" (p.38). A comparison with Diderot's argument in the *Paradoxe* reveals the extent to which Riccoboni prepared the way for this work. For Diderot was to reiterate the lines of Riccoboni's discussion:

J'insiste donc, et je dis: "C'est l'extrême sensibilité qui fait les acteurs médiocres; c'est la sensibilité médiocre qui fait la multitude des mauvais acteurs; et c'est le manque absolu de sensibilité qui prépare les acteurs sublimes." Les larmes du comédien descendent de son cerveau; celles de l'homme sensible montent de son coeur: ce sont les entrailles qui troublent sans mesure la tête de l'homme sensible; c'est la tête du comédien qui porte quelquefois un trouble passager dans ses entrailles⁸⁴

It was the nature of the mechanism by which the actor's head could move his "entrailles" that François Riccoboni investigated in *L'Art du Théâtre*. However, as he explained, the mechanism was incidental to the actor's rational study of emotional expression, it was not the principle which governed that expression:

Jé ne dis pas qu'en jouant les morceaux de grande passion l'Acteur ne ressente une émotion vive; c'est même ce qu'il y a de plus fatigant au Théâtre. Mais cette agitation vient des efforts qu'on est obligé de faire pour peindre une passion que l'on ne ressent pas, ce qui donne au sang un mouvement extraordinaire auquel le Comédien peut être lui-même trompé, s'il n'a pas examiné avec attention la véritable cause d'où cela provient. Il faut connoître parfaitement quels sont les mouvemens de la nature dans les autres, et demeurer toujours assez le maître de son âme pour la faire à son gré ressembler à celle d'autrui. Voilà le grand art. Voilà d'où naît cette parfaite illusion à laquelle les spectateurs ne peuvent se refuser, et qui les entraîne en dépit d'eux

(p.41).

To some extent then Riccoboni coalesced traditional theory of expression in delivery with eighteenth-century emphasis on the artistic temperament. While he reattributed the art of expression to an intellectual, rational source

however Riccoboni did not return to the concept of prescriptive rules and advice on tonal and gestural variation according to subject, passions, figures and parts of the speech. Instead he underlined the importance of the general formation of the actor, of the cultivation of a certain good taste which would then equip the actor with the necessary sense of decorum to be able to select from his experience of natural expression of emotion those elements best suited to his characterization. "Tout l'art du Theatre", Riccoboni explained, "se réduit à un très petit nombre de principes. Il faut toujours imiter la nature. L'affectation est le plus grand de tous les défauts, quoique ce soit le plus commun. Le goût seul peut nous contenir dans les étroites limites de la vérité" (pp.101-2).

L'Art du Théâtre is directed therefore to analysis and discussion of those elements which may make up the actor's taste. Thirty aspects are isolated whose order Riccoboni intended to be "précisément celui dans lequel le Comédien doit faire l'étude de son art"(p.4). The headings under which these aspects are discussed provide therefore an abstract of Riccoboni's thought and an indication of the relative emphases. Significantly "Le Geste" is accorded first place, followed by "La Voix", "La Déclamation", "L'Intelligence", "L'Expression", "Le Sentiment", "La

Tendresse", "La Force", "La Fureur", "L'Enthousiasme", "La Noblesse", "La Majesté", "La Comédie", "Les Amans", "Les Caractères", "Le Bas Comique", "Les Femmes", "Le Plaisant", "Le Jeu Muet", "L'Ensemble", "Le Jeu de Théâtre", "Le Temps", "Le Feu", "Le Choix", "La Pratique", "La Chambre", "L'Académie", "Le Barreau", "La Chaire", "Le Théâtre". From this abstract it is immediately apparent that François Riccoboni had taken study of the business of acting far from the standard pattern modelled upon *pronuntiatio*. Where Le Faucheur, his followers, Grimarest and Poisson had considered delivery primarily as a question of variation of voice and gesture in accordance with subjects, feelings and style of the text, François Riccoboni was to consider the particular qualities required in the actor himself, investigating artistic sensibility and individual skills which the actor should ideally cultivate. To best bring out those features of Riccoboni's thought which break with or modify the rhetorically-based art of acting as declamation, and which thus, by contrast provide evidence of this tradition, four major areas will be isolated. These are, firstly approach to character and expression of feeling. Secondly the attitude to traditional declamation and the ideal proposed to replace it. Thirdly the concept of gesture and its relative importance in acting, and finally the emphasis on ensemble acting. Although of great interest, Riccoboni's comments on comic acting have been excluded from this discussion in order to

retain that concentration on tragic acting which has formed the focus of this study. It should however be made clear that one of the most original aspects of Riccoboni's theory of acting is that he does not distinguish between tragic and comic acting as far as basic principles of the art are concerned, nor does he qualitatively judge the two genres. For reasons which will become apparent, and which were not unconnected with developments within the dramatic genres themselves, the ideal François Riccoboni proposed for tragic acting followed principles identical with those required in high comedy. As he explained "la seule différence que l'on puisse mettre entre l'un et l'autre genre, c'est que la Comédie parcourt tous les tons et que la Tragédie se restraint à un plus petit nombre. On seroit plus aisément convaincu de ce que j'avance, si l'on avoit coutume de voir jouer le tragique sans outrer la voix et le geste" (p.59).

Despite his remarks on the depth of penetration necessary in acting, which superficially would appear to run counter to the thought of Louis Riccoboni and Sainte-Albine, François Riccoboni shared with these writers a greater emphasis on the actor's individual response to characterization. Like his father and Sainte-Albine, Riccoboni's acting ideal is based firmly on the concept of a stage-illusion which corresponds more closely to real life, a representation

rather than a perfection of reality. The "parfaite illusion à laquelle les spectateurs ne peuvent se refuser" (p.41) moved nearer to the experience of the audience of Riccoboni's time than the pattern established during the seventeenth-century, and was to be achieved by a deeper appreciation of the way people behave in real life, by an awareness of the extent to which different circumstances may affect different characters in different ways. The traditional theory of expression which classified human emotion into passions with characteristic signs according to time-honoured, largely classical principles, clearly ceased to have any relevance to this approach. The key to Riccoboni's thought on emotional expression was no longer a body of hallowed *accents* and *gestes*, but personal observation of human behaviour which the taste and discrimination of the true artist would select appropriately. The actor's business therefore was to study real life rather than theories of the passions so as to "connoître parfaitement quels sont les mouvemens de la nature dans les autres, et demeurer toujours assez le maître de son âme pour la faire à son gré ressembler à celle d'autrui" (p.41). Where expression of feeling in *pronuntiatio* had been tempered by a concept of decorum based upon the social conventions of the élite, in *L'Art du Théâtre* it was the more instinctive reactions of the lower orders which were to provide a model for

emotive expression:

Examinons...si l'on ne pourroit pas trouver dans la nature, des modèles, qui parfaitement suivis, donneroient l'extrême vérité accompagnée de la vigueur nécessaire. Observons le monde: je ne dis pas seulement ce monde choisi qui se pique du bel air; je dis le monde en général, et plutôt les petits que les grands. Ceux-ci accoutumés par l'usage et la politesse à ne se point laisser entraîner au premier mouvement en présence d'autrui, peuvent fournir peu d'exemples d'expression vive. Mais les hommes d'un rang moins élevé, qui s'abandonnent plus aisément aux impressions qu'ils reçoivent, le peuple qui ne sait point contraindre ses sentiments, ce sont-là les vrais modèles de la forte expression. C'est chez eux que l'on peut voir l'accablement de la douleur, l'abaissement d'un suppliant, l'orgueil méprisant du vainqueur, la fureur portée à l'excès. C'est là qu'on trouve plus que par tout ailleurs les exemples du grand tragique. Ajoutons-y seulement un vernis de politesse, et tout sera parfait. En un mot il faut exprimer comme le peuple, et se présenter comme les grands

(p.43).

Although of course what François Riccoboni understood by "un vernis de politesse" may have come close to the concept of dignity and decorum propounded in seventeenth-century rhetorical theory, it is clear that advice to observe and imitate natural, unrefined expression of feeling opened the way to a wider range of vocal and gestural expression than a theory which constantly emphasized avoidance of extremes and cultivation of grace. It was the actor rather than the rules of the art that was to determine propriety of emotional expression, his business being to "concevoir à chaque instant le rapport que peut avoir ce que nous disons avec le caractère de notre rôle, avec la situation où nous met la scène, et

avec l'effet que cela doit produire dans l'action totale" (p.31). It was the sensitivity of the actor, his "finesse" which would enable him to "bien distinguer les différences d'un sentiment, qui au premier abord semble être par tout le même" (p.48), and it was his personal presence and grace which would determine whether an expression would convey vulgarity or nobility: "si l'Acteur a les mouvemens faciles et sans apprêt, son jeu est noble. C'est l'aisance dans la démarche, la simplicité dans la countenance, la douceur et les développés dans les bras qui donnent cette qualité" (p.56). The dignity requisite in the tragic actor was to be dependent therefore upon a certain presence natural to the actor himself rather than upon a particular mode of verse-speaking and a particular, consciously-studied manner of ennobling gesture⁸⁵. This belief in the power of a less vehement, less artificially-modulated tone and in a freer use of gesture to convey tragic emotions is highlighted by Riccoboni's remarks on traditional declamation and gesture.

French tragic declamation, as critics from Molière to Sainte-Albine had suggested, was characterized by a tendency to rely upon the rhetoric of the poetic text as a source of affective delivery, and by a corresponding tendency to equate expression of extreme emotion with vehemence.

Molière's attack on the tragedians of the Hôtel de Bourgogne had focused attention upon this equation of the loud, climactic technique with expression of extreme emotion in his criticism of those actors who deliberately attempted to excite *le brouhaha*. Louis Riccoboni's criticism of "tons si extraordinaires et si éloignés de la vérité" (*Pensées sur la déclamation*, p.35), the experiments of Baron and Mlle Lecouvreur and the emergence of new styles of dramatic expression of the sentiments formerly reserved for tragedy, had developed Molière's position to a point where there was little new in François Riccoboni's disapproval of emphatic, vehement delivery. However his analysis of the mechanics of this sort of style is particularly fine and makes it clear why declamation should have been so susceptible to that abuse *le chant*. As François Riccoboni explained, declamation had traditionally been a style of delivery in which the voice had been raised at the caesura and then dropped at the end of the line, and in which expression of emotion was necessarily dependent upon changes of tempo and volume. Since the voice was already bound to a certain rhythm and modulation by the poetry itself, the tones employed to express feeling would have to step beyond the range of modulation of the purely-informative hemistich. Similarly pausing and phrasing would be determined by this subservience to

the *ceçsura*, making affective phrasing the work of the poet rather than the actor. As Riccoboni pointed out, "ce n'est point la force de la voix qui fait le cri, c'est la façon de porter le son, et sur tout la fréquente rechute aux intervalles de même espece" (p.21). Traditional declamation therefore was a combination of these two factors, not exclusively *l'emphase*, nor uniquely *le chant* but a mixture of the two:

C'est la véhémence et la monotonie jointes ensemble, qui forment la déclamation. Commencer bas, prononcer avec une lenteur affectée, traîner les sons en langueur sans les varier, en élever un tout-à-coup aux demi-pauses du sens, et retourner promptement au ton d'où l'on est parti; dans les momens de passion, s'exprimer avec une force surabondante, sans jamais quitter la même espece de modulation, voilà comme on déclame (p.22).

This then was the combination which proved fatal to Mondory and Montfleury, the exertion required by such delivery causing them to be struck by apoplexy or death⁸⁶. By contrast, although Baron's delivery could be forceful, because he did not subscribe to the traditional mode of declamation, his rôles never exhausted him vocally:

Le célèbre Baron...étoit le seul qui n'avoit point de déclamation...il jouoit avec plus de force que personne, mais il n'étoit jamais forcé, aussi le plus grand rôle tragique le fatiguoit beaucoup moins qu'un rôle médiocre n'auroit fatigué tout autre (p.24).

Unlike his parents, François Riccoboni was unqualified in his admiration of Baron's style of delivery, of

"cette simplicité et cette vérité dont il étoit un excellent modèle" (p.24). By 1750 then the Baron legend had established itself to the extent that the new ideal urged for tragic delivery might be personified by this actor's name. However, as François Riccoboni's conception of the manner in which tragic verse should be delivered makes clear, Baron's style of tragic acting would appear to have better corresponded to François Riccoboni's ideal than to that of his father. If Louis Riccoboni's aesthetic of tragic acting had been several degrees below the traditional, noble ideal of French declamation, then François Riccoboni's aesthetic was several degrees further removed from his father's ideal. The principle which François was to advocate for tragic acting was that of expression of sense free of deliberate ennobling of the style of delivery:

Venons au principe. Les Vers tragiques doivent être prononcés avec le son qu'exigent naturellement les pensées qu'ils renferment. Lorsqu'un Héros parle de choses qui ne l'émeuvent point, pourquoi devroit-il affecter un son de voix extraordinaire? ...Est-il nécessaire, pour dire noblement, de ne jamais s'éloigner d'une monotonie choquante. Les Vers tragiques ont à la vérité une mesure uniforme, mais ils ne s'enchaînent pas toujours de la même manière. Ce que l'on y dit change à chaque instant de pensée et de sentiment, il faut donc à chaque moment changer de ton

(p.25)

Provided~~ed~~ therefore that the sense and feeling of the text conditioned the actor's expression, no tone from the familiar to the vehement should be excluded according

to Riccoboni. The pattern to which tragic delivery should conform therefore would be that of conversation, from which no register is by definition excluded since tonal variation is dependent on character, situation and circumstances. Replying to the criticisms of the *Journal de Trévoux* and Desfontaines' *Observations sur la littérature moderne*, François Riccoboni challenged the classical principle expressed by Quintilian that actors "ne prennent pas tout à fait le ton de la conversation". In his opinion, "je pense que si l'on en prend un autre, on manque d'art, et qu'il faut en avoir beaucoup pour atteindre jusqu'à ce point de vérité. Le Comédien doit seulement parler plus haut que dans la Chambre"⁸⁷. Art therefore was no longer to be a question of deliberate heightening, of conscious grace and dignity but of artistic sensitivity and a certain calibre of artist. Dignity would be given to expression only where the artist/actor himself personally revealed such a quality through identification with character: "l'Acteur qui sentira combien sa position le met au-dessus de tous ceux qui l'environnent, et qui aura soin de la faire sentir de même au Spectateur, sera sûrement majestueux" (p.56).

The leitmotif of Riccoboni's theory of expression resides in the concept of delivery based upon thought and sentiment. Contemporary tragic actors are criticized because they

fail to base their expression on meaning and feeling and instead rely upon a certain style of tragic declamation which traditionally suggested dignity and passion, a style which tended to a particular register of tones and which restricted emotional expression to two broad modes, "un ton pleureur" and "l'emportement". Riccoboni's argument is that all tones may have their place in tragedy, as may all gesture, principles of tragic acting should not exclude by definition ways of speaking and reacting that are common in human behaviour. A straightforward conversational tone might be as appropriate to certain passages as might a more forceful manner to other passages. The deciding factor would be the sympathetic identification of the performer, his ability to feel for the expression rather than apply rational, abstract concepts: "il faut se mettre dans l'esprit que l'outré ne vient jamais de la trop grande force du sentiment; ce sont les accessoires qui la gâtent, je veux dire la mécanique du geste et de la voix" (p.44). However, as Riccoboni explained, force of feeling was not necessarily best revealed in vehement delivery, that is "une vivacité excessive, une volubilité dans le discours, une précipitation dans le geste, au-dessus de l'ordinaire" (p.91). Depth of emotion, even of those traditionally irascible emotions such as anger and jealousy, need not always be

conveyed by "la véhémence et la précipitation" (p.94). The determining factor once more was to be the nature of the feeling which underlay the text. When "notre esprit est animé de façon à ne laisser aucune place à la réflexion, et ne se trouve plus le maître de lui-même", then it would be appropriate for one to "parler avec vitesse, se mouvoir avec vivacité, ne point donner aux autres le tems de nous répondre, et ne plus conserver aucun ordre dans les gestes" (p.92). However, for the most part, human behaviour did not follow this pattern of impetuous language and gesture. When for example a person is surprized by something which he has been told, he does not react immediately: "lorque nous sommes surpris par un sentiment imprévu, notre âme se remplit tout à coup d'une foule d'idées, mais elle ne les distingue pas avec la même vitesse. Elle est quelques momens embarrassée au choix de celle qui doit la déterminer" (p.85). Similarly when emotions are mixed with more logical reasoning, speech and gesture will reflect this combination, pausing being especially important in this context. To illustrate the effectiveness of appropriate pausing Riccoboni described the way Achille should react to Agamemnon's speech in *Iphigénie* IV,vi. The situation is one in which "Agamemnon vient de lui tenir des discours d'une hauteur, qui ne peut que révolter ce jeune Héros, et le porter à la plus violente colère" (p.87). However, rather than expressing

anger according to a certain generalized pattern, the actor should take account of the particular character of Achille and his relationship to Agamemnon, and show his emotion in such a way as to reveal his self-control and courage. By pausing significantly before delivering the line *Rendez grace au seul noeud qui retient ma colere* and further pausing within this line, the actor might indicate the extent to which Achille was torn by conflicting sentiments, "le contraste que font en lui la colere et la réflexion" (p.86). Similarly Achille's true nobility would best be conveyed by the actor avoiding the temptation to build up towards a climactic conclusion on the lines *Pour parvenir au coeur que vous voulez percer, / Voilà par quel chemin vos coups doivent passer*, and instead of "les sons éclatans" and the "coup de tête outrageant" which familiarly accompanied these lines, to speak them "à voix basse, quoique d'un air assuré" (p.88).

Riccoboni's remarks on the tendency inherent in traditional declamation to correlate strong emotion with vehement tonal and gestural expression directed to a climax, are suggestive of the extent to which tragic declamation, if not directly influenced by, at any rate corresponded to seventeenth-century advice on oratorical delivery. Le Faucheur's recommendation that anger be rendered by "une voix aigue, impetueuse, violente" (*Traité de l'action*,

p.116), corresponds precisely to the tragic acting tradition which François Riccoboni was attempting to counter. Similarly it is interesting to compare Bary's description of the gesture appropriate to determination with François Riccoboni's claim that contemporary interpretations of Achille's resolution included "un coup de tête". For Bary had suggested that "le Resolu" be indicated by one turning one's head towards the left, "parce que ce tournement de teste marque qu'on est fort éloigné de faire ce que les autres désirent" (*Méthode pour bien prononcer*, p.88). Further evidence of parallelism between classical precepts of *pronuntiatio* and principles governing tragic declamation is afforded by Riccoboni's criticism of the advice to begin a tragedy with moderate tone and gesture and to build up to a climax at the end of the play:

L'on a porté les fausses réflexions sur la
 déclamation jusqu'au point de se faire là-dessus
 les principes les plus déraisonnables, en voici un.
 L'on croit qu'il faut toujours commencer une Tragédie
 à voix basse et sans force de jeu, afin de ménager
 les moyens de toujours augmenter l'expression
 jusqu'à la fin de la Pièce
 (p.26)

The similarity between this "fausse réflexion" and the standard rhetorical principle that the speech be begun moderately to allow the orator to work up to a climax in the peroration, is evident. Further evidence of the extent to which a rule which even in rhetorical theory

had allowed for variation, could determine the actor's manner of delivering opening scenes is afforded by Grimarest's description of Oreste's opening speech and by Riccoboni's criticism of contemporary performance of *Mithridate*:

Sur ce principe j'ai vu des Acteurs commencer la tragédie de Mithridate, où Xipharès entre sur la scène en déplorant la mort de son père, qu'il vient d'apprendre, pour débiter cette nouvelle avec autant de sang froid, que nous parlerions de la mort du grand Mogol si l'on venoit nous l'annoncer

(p.26).

For Riccoboni this example illustrated how inappropriate it was to follow the rules of declamation blindly and without apt consideration of the sense, sentiment and character in situation. Instead of such general principles as had governed tragic delivery therefore, Riccoboni proposed that "la seule règle à suivre est celle que nous prescrit le sentiment que nous avons à rendre...l'Acteur doit rendre les choses telles qu'elles sont en quelque lieu de la Pièce qu'ellessoient placées" (pp.26-7). Expression was to be determined by the feeling of the character to be represented and not by a code of variation according to abstract textual considerations.

Criticism of imposed norms and a routine approach to expression combined with advice to replace such directives with a more personal sensitivity to the feelings of

a character in a particular situation, mark Riccoboni's discussion of gesture as much as they determined his attitude to declamation. Gesture was fundamental to Riccoboni's conception of the dramatic illusion which the actor should create. As has been seen, it was to a certain presence (gesture in its broadest sense) that Riccoboni attributed nobility of style, and it is for this reason that gesture is isolated as the most important aspect of *L'Art du Théâtre*. For Riccoboni the actor would be unable to create "la plus parfaite image de la vérité" (p.36), if he attempted to portray character in a manner which was obviously the result of conscious effort. Grace was not a concept that could be grafted onto one's gesture as a result of study and application of certain principles, it was a quality which sprung from the individual talent and which was irreducible to generalized elements. The actor's presence "la disposition totale du corps", determined whether facial expression and manual gesture would be pleasing or not, Riccoboni argued. For this presence "influe sur toutes les autres (parties) à tel point qu'un Acteur dont le geste est mauvais ne sauroit être vraiment agréable, quelque talent qu'il ait d'ailleurs"⁸⁸. The actor's natural grace was the source of his ability to use gesture well and this further determined the quality of his acting. In Riccoboni's terms therefore the notion

of acting moves closer to modern understanding of the term, involving proportionately greater emphasis on gestural verisimilitude than on tonal variation as a source of the dramatic illusion.

The grand manner adopted by tragic actors in their gesture was as inimical to Riccoboni's thought on acting as was their style of declamation. The actor's gesture, whether portraying a king or a peasant, should appear natural and within a range which could be accepted as natural, and not be deliberately grafted onto the interpretation. The actor should portray his character as if he were that character with the style of gesture arising out of such imaginative identification. No tragic actor who had so approached his rôle would need the artificial techniques so familiar on the tragic stage of Riccoboni's day. He would not have to follow those tragic actors who "croyant se donner un air plus grand, marchent d'un pied si fortement appuyé, que tout leur corps en reçoit un ébranlement, et que l'on voit à chaque pas danser leur tonnelet" (p.8)⁸⁹. Management of gesture was to be a question of natural grace combined with intuitive response, a principle which Riccoboni expressed in terms of rejection of studied rehearsal before a mirror, that technique so widely recommended in seventeenth-century

oratorical theory. In both *L'Art du Théâtre* and the *Lettre...au sujet de l'Art du Théâtre*, Riccoboni ardently advised against use of the mirror. The dancer he explained might study his gesture before a mirror because his aim was to create picturesque, graceful positions and attitudes rather than to express feeling. The actor who so studied his gesture would risk the danger of affectation: "gardez-vous bien...de déclamer devant un miroir pour étudier vos gestes; cette méthode est la mère de l'affectation" (p.14). The important point of stage gesture was not visual beauty but emotional verisimilitude and the actor should therefore "sentir ses mouvemens et les juger sans les voir" (p.14). The actor "qui se regarde dans une glace", Riccoboni explained in the *Lettre*, "s'habitue à trop compasser et trop ralentir ses mouvemens, ce qui lui ôte la liberté; à demeurer trop long-tems dans les attitudes qui flattent le plus les yeux, à y revenir plus souvent qu'à celle qui lui paroissent moins frappantes" (p.8). Riccoboni's antipathy to the mirror-prepared gesture is one of the first examples of what was to be a commonplace of eighteenth-century writings on acting⁹⁰. Mirror-prepared gesture is correlated by Riccoboni with the sort of deliberate, artificial dignity of gesture which traditional tragic acting cultivated. Rejection of the mirror in Riccoboni's

conception of gesture corresponds, as it was to in Diderot, Noverre and others⁹⁰, with a desire for a type of gesture that would have its source in the sympathetic imagination and which would be more concerned with expression of feeling than bodily grace.

In line with this approach to movements of the body, Riccoboni further rejected other principles which had directed tragic acting from the point of a traditional code rather than from consideration for dramatic effectiveness. Here again the rhetorical heritage is evident. For Riccoboni explained that the principle that the head be held down with shoulders level, allowing the neck maximum length, (a principle familiar to the student of *pronuntiatio*), had been observed to an absurd degree among actors. For fear of rounding the shoulders when attempting to show respect or compassion, actors had adopted the technique of bending "de la ceinture, en tenant l'estomac et la poitrine extrêmement roides". The remedy, as Riccoboni explained, was simple requiring merely that the actor should free himself from the general rule: "il faut se courber de la poitrine sans craindre de grossir les épaules, qui, dans cette occasion ne peuvent jamais faire une mauvaise figure" (p.7). A similarly undogmatic approach to the traditional corpus of principles was to

be made when Riccoboni discussed the "above-eye" rule. Having explained that "c'est une règle assez connue, que pour l'ordinaire la main ne doit pas s'élever au-dessus de l'oeil", Riccoboni extended Poisson's attitude and claimed that where feeling dictated such a movement the rule might be transgressed without fear, for "quand une violente passion le transporte, l'Acteur peut oublier toutes les règles; il peut se mouvoir avec promptitude, et porter ses bras jusqu'au-dessus de sa tête" (pp.13-4). What for Poisson had been an exceptional circumstance, for Riccoboni was a general principle, and again such modification of a rhetorical axiom was to be matched by those other writers who urged a sympathetically-inspired style of gesture as opposed to a dignified manner. Diderot, now the best-known spokesman of "le geste du sentiment", was to be as critical of this rule as he was of the mirror-technique. What Diderot required of stage-gesture was that it should appear to arise from spontaneous emotion and not give the impression of studied, pre-meditated expression. Like Riccoboni, Diderot identified this artificial manner of expression with the mirror and "le maudit, le maussade jeu que celui qui défend d'élérer les mains à une certaine hauteur"⁹¹. The style of the new ideal with its emphasis on sense-pausing and gestural expression as a self-sufficient

tool in expression of feeling, was implicitly contrasted by Diderot as it was by F. Riccoboni with a style of acting based upon rhetorical principles. Thus in a letter to Voltaire of 1760, Diderot justified the new style by measuring it against the former standard of oratorical delivery: "le silence et la pantomime ont quelquefois un pathétique que toutes les ressources de l'art oratoire n'atteignent pas"⁹².

Nevertheless François Riccoboni, by virtue perhaps of his practical experience, was not as willing as Diderot was to be to reject all aspects of the rules which had traditionally guided actors in management of their gesture. In the technical advice which Riccoboni gives on how the body should be moved and held, elements of the rhetorical model are apparent. Following the traditional presentation of gesture therefore Riccoboni opened his discussion with consideration of stance and advised "pour avoir bon air il faut se tenir droit, mais non se tenir trop droit". Extremes were to be avoided: "tout ce qui approche de l'excès devient affectation, paroît désagréable aux yeux et donne de la contrainte" (p.5). This is recognizable as the standard rhetorical formula justified in the traditional manner by principles of mediocrity and grace. Similarly, although gesture should not be rehearsed before a mirror, study and practice

to acquire the requisite *port de bras* were considered necessary by Riccoboni. As has been seen in the context of Rollin's advice on gesture, Riccoboni's description of the principle governing movement of the arms on stage was identical with that applicable to the orator⁹³.

Similarly Le Faucheur's standard advice on the fist is reiterated: "on doit éviter, autant qu'il est possible, d'avoir le poing totalement fermé, et sur tout de le présenter directement à l'Acteur auquel on parle, dans les instans même de la plus grande fureur" (p.12). Equally, Le Faucheur's advice not to raise the arms to an equal height is echoed in Riccoboni's warning: "il faut éviter d'avoir les deux bras également étendus, et de les porter tous deux à la même hauteur" (p.13).

Riccoboni's remarks on facial expression, "le jeu muet", further sustain the flavour of traditional rhetorical precepts and betray their source. As all writers since Cicero had done, Riccoboni emphasized that facial expression should depict the passions: "il faut que toutes les passions, tous les mouvemens de l'âme, tous les changemens de pensée se peignent sur le visage de l'Acteur" (p.75)⁹⁴. The classic adage concerning the eyes furthermore is repeated: "on dit avec raison que les yeux sont le miroir de l'âme" (p.76), and, as Le Faucheur and his followers had done, the value of movements of the brows ~~are~~ stressed:

"c'est le front ridé et le sourcil froncé à differens degres, et les yeux ouverts en rond ou en long, qui marquent les différentes expressions" (p.77). Finally, deference is made to rhetorical advice in warning against distortion of the mouth and suggesting that only the "haut du visage" be moved, the mouth and chin merely moving "pour articuler" not to express emotion (p.76). To some extent therefore Riccoboni subscribed to the rhetorical principle that decorous expression was a function of movements of brow and eye. The best actor in Riccoboni's terms is one with a mobile brow since "le haut du visage doit jouer sans cesse", and eyes "d'une couleur marquée et d'une vivacité qui s'appergoive de loin" (p.76). An important part of the actor's training would involve practice in using the brow according to Riccoboni: "un Acteur doit acquérir à force d'exercice la facilité de rider son front en élevant le sourcil, et de froncer l'entre-deux des sourcils en les abaissant fortement" (pp.76-7). Although therefore the prescriptive advice on movements appropriate to certain passions was excluded from acting theory by the mid-eighteenth century, emphasis was still focused strongly on the eyes and brows as tools of emotional expression, and to an extent far greater than would be recognized in acting theory today.

Where Riccoboni's remarks on gesture as such indicate both fidelity to certain principles inherent in rhetorical theory and reaction against its prescriptive method, his discussion of the importance of sustained characterization and interaction between actors on stage, gave the concept of stage-gesture new significance. Gesture could no longer be directed by principles which the individual actor had worked out in isolation for it was with gesture that he would show how another character's words had affected him: "tous les Acteurs doivent concourir à augmenter la force de l'expression de celui qui parle; et lorsqu'ils y prennent part aux yeux du Spectateur, ils aident fortement à le séduire" (p.82). Because gesture could not be determined in isolation however it was essential that actors establish a harmony and degree of synchronization in their movements, as well as in their tones: "il faut que plusieurs Acteurs, qui ordinairement ont chacun un caractère différent, et dont la situation n'est jamais la même, conservent dans leur Jeu certain rapport qui les empêche d'être discordans à l'oreille, ni aux yeux du Spectateur...on doit trouver dans les gestes et les mouvemens de tous les Acteurs la même correspondance, que dans les tons de leur voix" (pp.79-81).

L'Art du Théâtre marks an important stage on the path

to nineteenth-century Naturalism, to the concept of the actor as artist fired by a particular temperament and exquisite sensitivity, to the idea of the stage-performance as a *tableau vivant*, to the emphasis on portrayal of individual characters interesting in their variety. At the same time however Riccoboni's text affords sufficient evidence of rhetorical principles and motifs for the debt which acting theory owed to the art of *pronuntiatio* to be measured.

FOOTNOTE REFERENCES TO CHAPTER THREE

- ¹ M. Descotes, *Le Public de théâtre et son histoire*, Paris, 1964, pp.143-4.
 - ² J. Truchet, "Introduction" au *Théâtre du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1972, I, p.xxvii.
 - ³ L. Las Gourgues, "La Rapidité de l'action dans la tragédie française de 1675 à 1700", *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 1967, p.246.
- The comparison made here is more than fortuitous since La Grange-Chancel attributed his dramatic inspiration in part to acquaintance with plays of the early seventeenth century, as his *Préface à Adherbal* (1694), makes clear: "j'étois fort assidu à la comédie, et à chercher sur les Quais toutes les anciennes Pièces de Theatre que je pouvois ramasser...je faisois une distinction particulière de Rotrou...quoique toutes ces pièces fussent irrégulières et se sentissent encore de l'enfance du theatre, je puis dire qu'elles n'ont pas peu contribué à me le faire connoître".
- ⁴ F. Gaiffe, *Le Drame en France au dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1910, pp.24-5.
 - ⁵ La Motte, *Discours à l'occasion de la tragédie de "Romulus"*, Paris, 1721.
 - ⁶ See Voltaire's preface to *Mélope* (1744), *Lettre à Maffei*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, éd., Moland, IV, p.182: "cette malheureuse coutume d'accabler nos tragédies d'un episode inutile de galanterie". Also his *Dissertation sur la tragédie ancienne et moderne*, in Moland, IV, pp.497-8: "la galanterie a presque partout affaibli tous les avantages que nous avons d'ailleurs...la plupart de ces pièces ressemblent si fort à des comédies, que les acteurs étaient parvenus, depuis quelque temps, à les réciter du ton dont ils jouent les pièces qu'on appelle du haut comique; ils ont par là contribué à dégrader encore la tragédie."
 - ⁷ See Voltaire's preface to *Brutus* (1730) in Moland, II, pp.318-9: "j'ose croire qu'il y a des situations qui ne paraissent que dégoûtantes et horribles aux Français,

- 7 et qui, bien ménagées, resprésentées avec art, et surtout adoucies par le charme des beaux vers, pourraient nous faire une sorte de plaisir dont nous ne nous doutons pas."
- 8 See for example his letter to Mlle Clairon (12.1.1750), *Correspondence*, 95, XI, 1970, pp.224-5 (D4095), advising her on the interpretation of *Electre*: "Pressez, sans déclamer, quelques endroits... Dans votre imprécation contre le tyran... vous n'appuyez pas assez... au dernier hémistiche pesez-sur *cri*, *le CRIME est trop heureux*; c'est sur *CRI* que doit être l'éclat".
See also use of broken lines in *Mélope*, III, vi, and in *Zaire*, III, vi.
- 9 Compare for example *Brutus*, V, iii with *Rodogune*, V, iv.
- 10 See Parfaict, *Histoire du théâtre françois*, Amst., 1735-1749, XIV, pp.252-3.
- 11 Nadal, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1738, II, pp.206-8.
- 12 G. Bergman, *Lighting in the theatre*, Stockholm, 1977, p.162.
- 13 Nadal, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1738, II, p.208.
- 14 Elisabeth Charlotte, Duchesse d'Orléans, letter dated 13.12.1694.
- 15 Tessinska samlingen, Daniel Cronströms brev, Riksarkivet, Stockholm, letter dated 24.12.1699.
- 16 See chart in appendix IV for full details of these and other performers acting careers on the Paris stage. Note also the letter of the Duchesse d'Orléans, 3.11.1700, to the effect that Mlle Duclos had "depuis un an si bien appris son métier qu'à présent elle joue presque aussi bien que la Champmeslé".
- 17 Moland, XVIII, p.132. Modern critics, such as B.E. Young in his study of Michel Baron (Paris, 1905) and E. Mas in his study of La Champmeslé (Paris, 1927), have followed Voltaire's appraisal of this situation.
- 18 Lesage, *Histoire de Gil-Blas de Santillane*, Paris, 1715-35, III, vi.

- 19 Nadal, *Oeuvres*, I, "Préface à *Antiochus*".
- 20 Elena Balletti, *Lettera al Signor Abate Antonio Conti sopra la maniera di M. Baron nel rappresentare le tragedie francesi* (1729), in A. Ademollo, *Una Famiglia di comici italiani*, Firenze, 1885.
- 21 Statistics from Vittu, "Public et folies dramatiques. La Comédie-Française (1680-1716)", in *Problèmes socio-culturels en France au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1974, pp. 89-141.
- 22 See J. Bonnassies, *La Comédie-Française*, Paris, 1874, p.134.
- 23 See J. Lough, *Paris theatre audiences*, Oxford, 1957, pp.173-4: "the average attendance for the years from the foundation of the theatre down to 1715 was rather less than 140,000 paying spectators a year. After 1715 came a decided slump: in only four of the years down to 1750 did the total number of spectators who paid for admission reach even the earlier average of 140,000...the average total attendance for the thirty-four years from 1715 to 1750 ...fell to about 117,000."
- 24 Moraud in his *Masques et jeux dans le théâtre comique*, Paris, 1977, provides the following statistics based upon figures drawn from Parfaict in *Histoire du théâtre français* :
- | | |
|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 1677-85 | 14p en 5a
4p en 3a
9p en 1a |
| 1686-95 | 23p en 5a
4p en 3a
45p en 1a |
| 1696-1721 | 32p en 5a
22p en 3a
65p en 1a |
- 25 Grimarest, *La Vie de M. de Molière*, éd. Mongrédien, Paris, 1955, p.162.

- 26 See Mongrédien's introduction to *La Vie de Molière*, pp.10-12.
- 27 L. de la Ravallière, *Essay de comparaison entre la déclamation et la poésie dramatique*, Paris, 1729, pp. 32-3.
- 28 L. de la Ravallière, p.20.
- 29 See Mongrédien, introduction to *La Vie de Molière*, p.10.
- 30 A.G. Bachrach, "The Great chain of acting", *Neophilologus*, 33(1949), p.169. See also A. Lorenceau, "Sur la ponctuation au 18^e siècle", *18^e Siècle*, 10(1978), pp.363-78.
- 31 G. Lote, "Voltaire et la déclamation théâtrale", *Mercure de France*, CLIII(1922), p.669.
- 32 See for example, Voltaire, *Le Fanatisme*, V, iv, and *Mérope*, III, iv.
- 33 Lettre de Piron in *Lettres d'Adrienne Lecouvreur*, éd. Monval, Paris, 1892, p.171.
- 34 Aiguebarre, *Seconde lettre du souffleur*, Paris, 1730, pp.36-7.
- 35 See A. Jullien, *Les Grandes nuits de Sceaux*, Paris, 1876.
- 36 See appendix V.
- 37 "*Engoûer*, etouffer par gloutonnerie ou par un trop grand effort vocal", *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694.
- 38 See *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *Les Précieuses ridicules* and chapter two.
- 39 Baron provides an example of an actor who was able to transgress the rules with some success. The article "Déclamation" in *L'Encyclopédie* (1751-65), VI, p.684, claimed Baron to have said "les règles défendent...de lever les bras au-dessus de la tête; mais si la passion

- 39 les y porte ils feront bien; la passion en sait plus que les règles".
- 40 See for example:
 La Mothe le Vayer, *Rhétorique du Prince* (1651), "le Geste ne doit jamais preceder la parole, ni être continué depuis qu'elle a cessé".
 Le Faucheur, *Traitté de l'action* (1657), "il doit commencer avec la parole et finir avec elle" (p.220).
 Du Roure, *Rhétorique françoise* (1662), "qu'ils commencent et qu'ils finissent avecque la parole" (p.71).
 Richesource, *Eloquence de la Chaire* (1665), "la Parole doit preceder le geste des mains...Le Geste de la main doit commencer et finir avec la parole et non autrement" (pp.194-5).
 Colomiès, *Rhétorique de l'honnête homme* (1699), "il ne doit commencer qu'avec la parole, il doit toujours finir lorsqu'on acheve de parler" (p.170).
- 41 A. Villiers in his *Art du Comédien*, 4e éd., Paris, 1968, p.16, has pointed out the difference between gesture preceding and gesture accompanying the words: "on énonce souvent cette règle-l'une des rares qui soient enseignées- le geste précède la parole...Le mot a une précision que le geste n'a pas; celui-ci succédant au premier n'apprend rien de plus, la répétition est inutile par conséquent, elle ralentit, affaiblit l'expression globale. Au contraire il y a crescendo, précision, ou renforcement de l'idée ou de l'action si le mot vient après. S'il y a simultanéité du geste et de la phrase, l'accompagnement est sans intérêt...Mais on voit tout de suite que cette règle concerne une certaine catégorie de gestes, la description ou l'explication par le geste...Mais la règle ne concerne évidemment pas les gestes qui sont de purs accompagnements plastiques".
- 42 L. Riccoboni, *Pensées sur la déclamation*, Paris, 1738, p.26.
- 43 The edition consulted for this study is the sixth edition, Paris, Pissot, 1755.
- 44 Munteano, "L'Abbé Dubos esthéticien de la persuasion passionnelle", *RLC*, XXX(1956), p.320.

- 45 Holmström, *Monodrama, attitudes, tableaux vivants*, Stockholm, 1967, p.16.
- 46 *Réflexions*, (1755), I, p.396.
- 47 *Réflexions*, I, p.397.
- 48 E. Caramaschi, "Dubos et Voltaire", *SV&C*, X (1959), p.181.
- 49 See X. de Courville, *Un Apôtre de l'art du théâtre au dix-huitième siècle: Luigi Riccoboni, dit Léllo*, Paris, 1942-58.
- 50 Boindin, *Lettre nouvelle sur la Comédie Italienne*, Paris, 1719, I, p.15.
- 51 *Serments indiscrets*, II, 10.
- 52 Translation used from *Théâtre, 4e Cahier*, 1945.
- 53 On the mirror see also Uriot, *Lettre au duc de Richelieu (1757)*, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ron.ms.336, p.3: "Vous n'aimez pas...ces Comédiens dessinés qui apportent, pour ainsi dire sur la Scène le miroir devant lequel ils ont, souvent aux dépens du caractère et des passions qu'ils doivent peindre, compassé leurs différentes positions, et notté par une espèce de corégraphie qui leur est particulière, tous les mouvemens de leur corps".
- 54 See Tessin's letter to Cronström, 12.4.1699: "Il y en a qui me disent que le Baron avoit voulu former une troupe depuis qu'il a esté exclu de celle du Roy, s'il y avoit le moyen d'en avoir un de sa force pour le Tragique, ca seroit bien plustost à souhaitter."
- 55 See d'Aiguebarre's comments on Baron's acting.
- 56 Collé, *Journal et mémoires*, éd. Bonhomme, Paris, 1868, I, p.139.
- 57 Collé, I, p.139.
- 58 *Lettera à Signor Conti*, translated in Courville, *Un Apôtre de l'art du théâtre*, II, pp.238-241.

- 59 Collé, I, p.140.
- 60 Collé, I, p.140.
- 61 *Mercur de France*, décembre 1729, p.3115 et sq.
- 62 Chamfort et La Porte, *Dictionnaire dramatique*, Paris, 1776, I, pp.340-1.
- 63 Aiguebarre, *Seconde lettre du souffleur*, pp.28-9.
- 64 Indicative of this is the way Baron tried to sustain the dramatic fiction despite audience noise or stage mishaps. One anecdote relates that in *Le Comte d'Essex* Baron's garter came off during his scene with Cecil and that Baron calmly replaced it as if to show his contempt for this traitor (*Anecdotes dramatiques*, III, 490)
- 65 Aiguebarre, p.37.
- 66 E. Balletti translated in Mantzius, *Molière, les théâtres, le public et les comédiens de son temps*, Paris, 1908, p.281.
- 67 J.-B. Rousseau, *Correspondance*, pp. Bonnefon, Paris, 1910-11, I, p.289.
- 68 E. Balletti translated in Courville, II, p.239.
- 69 La Porte, *Anecdotes dramatique*, Paris, 1775, II, p.85: "Lorsque Baron étoit prêt à reciter ce dernier vers: *Nous en avons beaucoup, pour être de vrais Dieux* il s'approchoit de Fabian, comme une personne qui craint d'être entendue; et pour obliger son confident de ne pas perdre un mot de la fin du discours, il lui mettoit une main sur l'épaule, avant de prononcer le vers que nous venons de rapporter. L'habitude où les Acteurs étoient avant lui, de gesticuler beaucoup et de chanter en déclamant, fit d'abord regarder ce geste et quelques autres que Baron employoit dans la Tragédie, comme trop voisins de la familiarité. Mais c'est par

- 69 ce moyen, que son jeu avoit atteint cette aimable vérité, qui le distinguoit si fort de ses camarades".
- 70 *Le Comédien* first appeared in fragments in the *Mercure de France* from 1745. The first complete edition was in November 1747.
- 71 Voltaire, *Oeuvres complètes*, éd. Moland, XXIV, pp.219-20.
- 72 See Marmontel, *Mémoires*, I, p.324, on Mlle Dumesnil's habit of drinking wine during intervals off stage and her "état d'ivresse" when playing in his *Héraclides* (24.5.1752). According to Marmontel, during act II she delivered her rôle "d'un air si égaré, si hors de sens, que le pathétique en devint risible".
- 73 See Lekain's manuscript rôles at the *Comédie-Française* and Larive's *Cours de déclamation*, Paris, 1804-10.
- 74 Marmontel, *Réflexions sur la tragédie* in *Oeuvres complètes*, Paris, 1787,
- 75 Lote, "Voltaire et la déclamation théâtrale", *Mercure de France*, CLIII(1922), p.678.
- 76 Moland, IV, p.497.
- 77 Lekain, *Rôles* in *Dossiers personnels des sociétaires*, Bibliothèque de la Comédie-Française.
Rättelser i ett exemplar av *Hérone et Marianne* och i ett exemplar av *Brutus*, ms, Kungligasbiblioteket, Stockholm.
- 78 Compare the critical reception of *Le Comédien* in *Journal de Trévoux*, fév., 1749, p.266 with La Porte's criticism of *L'Art du Théâtre* in *Observations sur la littérature moderne*, 1750, pp.232-4.
- 79 See Courville and E.A. Crosby, *Une Romancière oubliée, Mme Riccoboni*, Paris, 1924, on François Riccoboni.
- 80 *Mercure de France*, mars 1750, p.175.
- 81 *Année Littéraire*, 1758, VIII.

- 82 See for example Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, VI (juin 1764) p.20: "quand on a lu le livre qu'il (F. Riccoboni) a fait sur l'art du comédien, on trouve tout simple qu'il ait été mauvais acteur".
- 83 Leven de Templeri, *La Rhétorique françoise*, Paris, 1698, p.88.
- 84 Diderot, *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, in *Oeuvres esthétiques*, Paris, 1959, p.313.
- 85 See also Riccoboni's guidance on gesture, p.394 of this chapter.
- 86 See chapter II and Fournel, *Curiosités théâtrales*, Paris, 1859, pp.192-3: "Mondory...mit un jour tellement d'ardeur et d'énergie dans le rôle d'Hérode, de la *Mariamne* de Tristan l'Hermite, qu'il fut surpris d'une attaque d'apoplexie pendant la représentation et qu'il resta dès lors paralytique d'une partie du corps...Montfleury mourut par suite des efforts qu'il avait faits pour représenter au naturel les fureurs d'Oreste, dans *Andromaque*."
- 87 *Lettre de Mr Riccoboni fils à M*** au sujet de l'Art du Théâtre*, Paris, 1750, p.9.
- 88 *Lettre de Mr Riccoboni fils....*, p.6.
- 89 See also Diderot's remark in *Entretiens sur le fils naturel* on actors "se promenant à pas comptés sur la scène" (*Oeuvres esthétiques*, Paris, 1959, p.120).
- 90 See for example Diderot's letter to Mlle Jodin in *Correspondance*, éd. Roth, V, p.102: "une des plus fortes satires de notre genre dramatique c'est le besoin que l'acteur a du miroir. N'ayez point d'apprêt, ni de miroir, connoissez la bienséance de votre rôle".
- See also Noverre, *Lettres sur les arts imitateurs*, Paris, 1807, on Garrick's use of gesture "ses gestes sont éloquens, parce qu'ils ne sont point étudiés dans une glace infidèle, qu'ils sont mus par les passions",

- 90 dessinés par le sentiment, colorés par la vérité, et que le principe de leurs mouvemens réside dans l'âme de l'acteur" (II, p.183).
- 91 Diderot, *Correspondance*, II, p.93.
- 92 Diderot, *Correspondance*, III, p.272.
- 93 See chapter I, pp.146-7.
- 94 Compare with Cicero's *De Oratore* translated by Cassagnes, pp.550-1: "le visage est le portrait de l'ame, les yeux en sont les interpretes...par les divers mouvemens des yeux on peut faire paroistre les diverses affections de l'ame, et par ce moyen animer l'Action qui est appelée l'Eloquence du Corps. Dans l'Action, le Visage a le plus de part, apres la voix et le visage est réglé par les yeux".

✓

CONCLUSION

To the theory and ideal of Classical French drama correspond a theory and an ideal of the Classical French actor. It has been the purpose of this thesis to investigate these concepts and to indicate the extent to which the art of serious acting in this formative period of French theatre was based upon the classical theory of *pronuntiatio*. It has been shown that classical assumptions correlating the best style (or "art") of acting with principles applicable to oratorical delivery, were absorbed by seventeenth-century theorists and extended to their conception of acting. *Pronuntiatio*, the classical art of delivery, was accepted ~~as~~ containing principles applicable to the best type of formal speaking, whether in verse or prose, whether in pulpit or on stage. As a result no separate art or theory of acting was deemed necessary during the seventeenth century, and discussion of acting and its effects was couched in the terminology and according to the concepts made familiar by *pronuntiatio*.

To obtain a better appreciation of the style of seventeenth-century serious acting then, it is useful to examine contemporary treatises on oratorical delivery. These offer the opportunity for acquaintance with the approach to and style of expression with which the seventeenth-century audience were familiar. Study of these works has isolated certain basic rules governing general management of the voice

and body, particular channels through which the speaker was expected to approach a text, and belief in the value of knowledge and practice of these principles as the best method of learning how to express emotion effectively in a formal, artificial situation. Of the basic rules, the principle that the hand should not extend beyond the level of the eyes and should operate within a similar range to either side and below, may be cited as an example. Advice on variation according to subjects, passions, parts and figures of the speech provides evidence of the particular channels and their style of expression. The recommendations to follow Demosthenes and practise with pebbles to correct one's pronunciation and to rehearse before a mirror to check one's bodily grace epitomize belief in the power of Art. Familiarity with the principles of *pronuntiatio* invites investigation along two paths, both of which expand our understanding of early French acting. Firstly this knowledge may be applied to the dramatic situation in seventeenth-century France and be used to reveal the nature of the difference between serious acting and popular tradition, and to show why it was that tragic delivery was to be criticised for its emphatic, cadenced manner and superficial approach to character and the independent power of gesture. Secondly, direct comparison of the arts of acting and delivery

which appear in the early eighteenth century with treatises on *pronuntiatio* may be made. Such a comparison indicates to what extent acting theory had relied upon principles of *pronuntiatio*, and to what extent these principles were to be modified during the eighteenth century. Thus it has been shown that the range of oratorical gesture, concentration on upper-facial expression (especially the brows), the use of the full-length mirror, practice with pebbles, a certain manner of moving the arms and emphasis on vocal expressivity were as important in Classical acting as they were in oratory. During the eighteenth century these principles were to be questioned repeatedly, Diderot being one of the more outspoken critics of the established system. Portrayal of emotion in terms of tonal variation, pitch and cadence accompanied by reinforcing gesture was to be replaced by emphasis on the power of the imagination, on the actor's ability to identify with a part (his sensibility), and on the power and effectiveness of non-linguistic expression (silences filled with appropriately emotive gesture).

Study of theories and conceptions of acting between 1620 and 1750 provides new evidence of the concerns and trends which governed artistic theory at this period. The actor is transformed from the dignified, *lieutenant* figure who studied and practised certain classically-based principles to the

sensitive creature of imagination if not genius, whose depth of feeling inspired and justified the style of his expression. Knowledge of the aesthetics of *pronuntiatio* further explains some of the criticisms levelled by eighteenth-century reformers at the style of Classical acting. The heavily-cadenced declamation of Mlle Duclos and Beaubourg and their fondness for emphatic delivery are revealed to belong to the earlier aesthetic in which the emotive potential of the text was brought out with strong vocal effects and exploitation of cadence. Similarly attacks on the stiff mannered quality of tragic gesture may be explained in terms of the precise range laid down by *pronuntiatio* and by its stringent demand that gesture be graceful and dignified. The call for prose tragedy and the development of the *pantomime* trend may be seen as further aspects of the reaction to the aesthetic of *pronuntiatio* which dominated seventeenth-century tragic acting.

Comedy, as a result of Molière's welding of Classical and popular acting styles, remained less subservient to principles of *pronuntiatio*. However, knowledge of these principles may enrich our understanding of the originality of Molière's approach and help to explain certain criticisms made against him. For Molière encouraged his troupe to portray character rather than to express universal emotions, and thus suggested

an approach needing sustained imaginative involvement rather than prepared analysis of individual speeches. Furthermore he was prepared to sacrifice the concepts of grace and *bienséance* of voice and gesture where this would enhance character-portrayal. As a result Molière was to be attacked for his "grimaces" and deliberate appeal to the populace. It was not until the eighteenth century that Molière's "art" of gesture could be appreciated fully as of equal if not superior merit to vocal expression accompanied by decorous facial movements and graceful bodily movements.

Acting is an art whose principles and style change with the period. It may not be entirely possible to recreate past styles of acting but examination of theories and ideals relating to actors and acting can enrich our understanding of past stages, past audiences and past drama immeasurably. What we understand by the word "acting" today was not what our seventeenth-century counterparts would have understood nor will it be what future generations will conceive of. Theories of acting, as this thesis has attempted to show, mirror the intellectual climate and spirit of an age as forcefully as acting itself is held to "mirror nature".

APPENDICES

APPENDIX IAN ABSTRACT OF RENE BARY'S ADVICE ON TONE AND GESTURE AS
CONTAINED IN HIS METHODE POUR BIEN PRONONCER UN DISCOURS,
1679i. Tonal variation according to divisions of the speech

"L'Exorde demande une voix mediocre" (p.3).

"La Division demande une voix claire et distincte" (p.5).

"La Confirmation demande trois sortes de voix; elle demande une voix hardie pour l'exposition des raisons, une voix haussée parce qu'elle renferme les objections, et une voix masle parce qu'elle rapporte les reponses" (pp. 6-7):

"L'Epilogue demande une voix éclatante, parce qu'il est plein d'interrogations et de reproches, et que l'accent de la voix doit estre proportionné à la vehemence des figures" (p.7).

ii. Tonal variation according to the passions

Amour: "Comme l'Amour est naturellement doux, enjoué, et excitatif, il s'exprime tantost par une voix flateuse, tantost par une voix gaye, et tantost par une voix plaintive" (p.8).

Haine: "Comme la Haine est naturellement rude, severe, impitoyable, elle s'exprime quelquefois par une voix aspre, quelquefois par une voix grondante et quelquefois par une voix ferme" (p. 11).

Désir: "Le Désir est violent, moderé, ou languissant; si le désir est violent, il l'est par l'amour, ou par la résistance; si le désir est violent par l'amour, il s'exprime par un ton tendre, et neantmoins pressant; et s'il est violent par la resistance, il s'exprime par un ton de dépit et de colère. Si le désir est moderé, il s'exprime par une voix foible...si le désir est languissant, il a la voix douce et interrompue." (pp.13-14).

Fuite: "La Fuite qui a pour contre passion le Désir, a la voix mediocrement rude quand par civilité elle est arrestée; et elle a la voix crierde quand par violence elle est interrompue" (pp.17-18)

- Joye: "La Joye s'exprime par une voix douce, pleine et facile " (p.19).
- Tristesse: "La Tristesse s'exprime par une voix foible, traisnante et plaintive" (p.20).
- Esperance: "L'Esperance s'exprime par une voix hautaine et éclatante" (p.20).
- Desespoir: "Le Desespoir s'exprime d'un ton exclamatif, aigu et precipité" (p.21).
- Audace: "Quand l'Audace est excitée par la presence de l'ennemy, elle a une voix impetueuse, hautaine et redoublée" (p.23).
- Crainte: "Quand la Crainte est excitée par la presence de la chose formidable, elle a la voix foible et hésitante" (p.24).
- Envie: "L'Envie...devroit avoir la voix tremblante" (p.26).
- Jalousie: "La Jalousie quelque indiscrete qu'elle soit en ses jugemens, a la voix hardie" (p.27).
- Emulation: "L'Emulation a la voix haute" (p.28).
- Indignation: "L'Indignation qui exprime le déplaisir qu'on a de voir dans les honneurs ceux qui devraient estre dans le mépris a la voix rude et exclamative" (p.29).
- Compassion: "La Compassion a en divers temps trois voix fort differentes: Elle a la voix triste aux premiers aspects de la misère. Elle a la voix aiguë lors que curieuse de sçavoir d'où viennent les maux qui tombent sous sa veüe, elle apprend qu'il viennent d'une haute injustice: Et elle a la voix douce, lors, comme dit un Ancien, que passant du coeur aux mains, elle ne donne pas moins des marques de sa puissance que de sa tendresse" (pp.32-33).
- Colère: "Ou la Colère n'est qu'une simple colère, ou elle est quelque chose de plus: si la colère n'est qu'une simple colere, elle a en divers momens la voix élevée, la voix grondante; elle a la voix élevée, quand celui qui a esté offensé se laisse emporter aux premières aigreurs de l'affront; elle a la voix grondante

Colère: quand celui qui a esté offensé est inférieur à l'injurious...si elle vient d'abord aux mains, elle a la voix éclatante et comme indistincte...si la colère temporise, elle a la voix fort émue et neantmoins mediocrement haute" (pp.35-37).

iii. Tonal variation according to the figures

Interrogation: "L'Interrogation aimable...l'accent doit estre doux" (p.42).
 "L'Interrogation injurieuse...l'accent fier" (p.42).
 "L'Interrogation ostentative...l'accent élevé" (p.42).

Apostrophe: "L'Apostrophe...qui a pour objet les choses inanimées...une voix un peu plus élevée que de coustume" (p.45).
 "L'Apostrophe...qui a pour objet les choses vivantes...selon la personne à qui on s'adresse" (p.45).

Prosopopée: "La Prosopopée souffre divers haussemens de voix selon les personnes qui parlent, selon les personnes qui entendent parler, et selon les raisons pour lesquelles on parle" (p.55).

Antithèse: "L'Antithèse qui renferme des oppositions violentes, doit estre en ses oppositions prononcée fermement, parce que c'est en cela seulement qu'elle est considerable" (p.59).

Prevention: "La Prevention qui consiste à prevenir des objections et à les resoudre doit plus hausser sa voix quand elle resout, que quand elle previent" (p.61).

Jurement: "Le Jurement icy est une figure, qui pour rendre la chose croyable, rappelle la memoire de ceux dont les actions sont en veneration...un ton extraordinairement élevé" (p.62).

Subjection: "une figure qui interroge, et qui à chaque interrogation répond" (p.64).
 A different tone for question and for answer.

Gradation: "La Gradation est une figure qui de degré en degré adjoute quelque chose à la malice

Gradation: ou à la bonté d'une action...La Gradation veut d'abord une voix hardie; veut ensuite une voix exclamative: et enfin, selon les degrez de l'injustice, elle veut une voix de plus en plus forte" (pp.68-9).

iv. Gesture

Interrogation: "L'Interrogation injurieuse veut que l'on mette la main sur un des costez, parce que cette interrogation demande une posture fière" (p.77).

As in: "Qui vous a dit, libertin, que Jésus-Christ estoit un fantosme, et que l'Evangile estoit une fable ?"

Franchise: "La Franchise veut qu'on éloigne les bras l'un de l'autre, et qu'en ouvrant les mains, on les tourne en dehors, parce que la franchise déploie les plis de l'âme, et que les mains tournées en dehors marquent ce déploiement" (pp. 77-78).

As in: "Croyez-moy, Messieurs, je ne vous cele que ce que je ne sçay pas, je ferois scrupule d'avoir pour vous quelque reserve."

Tendresse: "La Tendresse veut qu'on porte le doigt sur l'estomac, parce que le coeur est le siege des passions" (p.78).

As in: "Jugez, Messieurs, si estant naturellement tres-sensible, il honora la mort de sa Mere d'une abondance de larmes."

Regne: "Le Règne ou l'empire veut qu'on étende le bras en droite ligne, qu'on ait la main un peu concave vers la terre, parce que cette action marque l'inferiorité de ceux dont on parle" (p.79).

As in: "Il ne deshonorait point son Ministère; et comme il parloit de la part de Dieu, il ne prescrivait pas moins des loix aux testes couronnés, qu'aux autres."

Pousse-a-bout: "Le Pousse-à-bout veut qu'on regarde le pecheur d'un oeil d'indignation, et qu'en haussant et baissant la teste, l'on avance mesme le corps, comme si l'on vouloit attenter sur luy" (p.80).

As in: "Quoy, tu n'épargneras non plus le Sanctuaire que les lieux profanes ? A quoy tient-il que le Ciel ne t'écrase, et que la terre ne t'abysme ?"

Abattement: "L'Abattement ou la consternation veut que chaque bras tombe en droite ligne vers chaque costé du corps, parce que la chute des bras suppose toujours une espèce de défaillance" (p.81).

As in: "A ce recit, Messieurs, il parut d'abord dissemblable à soy-mesme; et comme si toutes ses esperances eussent esté perduës, il perdit comme la voix et le mouvement."

Triomphe: "Le Triomphe veut qu'on regarde le Ciel, comme de costé, qu'on porte le bras droit vers le bras gauche, et que l'on baisse et hausse un peu la teste, parce que le triomphe suppose qu'on emporte tout de grand, et que cette action marque comme un progresz momentané" (pp.82-83).

As in: "Il porta les choses d'une hauteur extraordinaire; et foulant aux pieds tous ceux qui s'opposèrent à son passage, il se procura une gloire immortelle"

Etonnement: "au moins celui qui naist des choses fâcheuses, veut qu'on envisage l'Auditoire d'un oeil extraordinairement ouverte, qu'on remue lentement la teste de costé et d'autre, et qu'en écartant les bras tombans, on ouvre les mains" (p.84).

As in: "Que vois-je ? Qu'entends-je ? Ah! je ne vois que du sang, et je n'entends que des cris!"

Ironie: "L'Ironie veut qu'on tourne la teste du costé gauche, et qu'on parle d'un ton exclamatif et railleur" (p.85).

As in: "Quoy, sur la difficulté proposée il n'eut point d'autre raison de vous, si ce n'est que la grace n'estoit pas toujours forte, et que la nature estoit toujours foible ? O la plaisante réponse!"

Confusion/Pelee-melee: "veut que le bras droit, un peu courbé en dedans, pousse le bras gauche, et que le bras gauche, un peu courbé aussi en dedans, pousse le bras droit, parce que cette action exprime le mélange des choses" (p.86).

As in: "Ils entrèrent dans la Ville si precipitamment, que les uns marchaient sur le corps des autres."

Fondamental: "Le Fondamental veut que le bras étendu s'élève et s'abaisse, parce que cette action marque la solidité de la chose" (p.87).

Fondamental: As in: "Cette doctrine, Messieurs, est incontestable, elle a esté le fondement de tous les Peres."

Resolu: "Le Resolu veut qu'on tourne la teste vers le côté gauche, parce que ce tournement de teste marque qu'on est fort éloigné de faire ce que les autres désirent" (p.88).

As in: "Qu'on ne m'en parle plus, la pierre en est jetée."

Notable: "Le Notable veut qu'on courbe un peu le bras vers le visage, et qu'on marque les choses par le doigt qui est proche le poulce, parce que ce doigt élevé est indicatif" (p.89).

As in: "Il est important, Messieurs, d'examiner ce point, c'est sur luy que roule toute la morale de l'Evangile."

Récit: "Le Récit veut qu'on courbe le bras vers la poitrine, qu'on l'éloigne de temps en temps de la mesme poitrine, et qu'on varie le geste selon les particularitez du Discours" (p.90).

As in: "Il n'entreprit seulement pas Physandre, il le poussa à bout; et de peur neantmoins qu'il ne s'emportast, il joignit en de certains endroits de son Discours le doux avec l'aigre."

Doctrinal: "Le Doctrinal veut qu'on s'asseoye, qu'on baisse un peu le corps vers l'Auditoire, qu'on étende un peu le bras, et qu'on courbe un peu l'index vers le poulce parce qu'il n'est pas naturel de parler à quelqu'un, et d'estre immobile et droit comme un pilier; et que l'asseoir, qui est une action de Supérieur, doit estre accompagnée de modestie; c'est à dire icy du courbement du corps" (pp.91-2).

As in: "Sçachez, Messieurs, que les vertus morales supposent les passions, et que les passions supposent la fantaisie."

Plainte: "Celle qui regarde les hommes, veut qu'on penche la teste tantost vers l'épaule droite, et tantost vers l'épaule gauche; qu'on mette les doigts les uns entre les autres, qu'on tourne les mains entre-lassées du costé de la poitrine, et qu'on varie sa voix, selon ce qui peut exciter ou l'étonnement, ou la tendresse" (p.93).

- Plainte: "(dans) celle qui est une imploration... l'on ne peut paroistre trop aneanty. Il faut donc avoir les bras croisez et joignans l'estomac, pour marquer le repentir: il faut avoir les mesmes bras étendus et écartez à la Saint François, pour marquer l'amour; enfin il faut avoir les mains jointes et le corps un peu penché, pour marquer l'humilité" (p.97).
- Horrible: "L'Horrible veut qu'on ouvre extraordinairement les yeux et la bouche, qu'on détourne un peu le corps vers le costé gauche, et que les deux mains étendues servent comme de défense" (p.102).
- As in: "Il ne vit pas plutôt ceux qui avoient conspiré sa mort, qu'il voulut prendre la fuite; mais l'épouvante luy ayant saisi le coeur, il resta comme immobile, et il ne put qu'opposer des mains tremblantes à des coups redoublez."
- Colère: "La Colère presumptueuse, veut qu'on élève horriblement les paupières, et qu'on avance mesme la lèvre inferieure, parce que celui qui est vivement picqué d'un affront dont il pretend sur le champ tirer vengeance, semble déjà se venger; et que dans la vengeance l'oeil enflammé et la lèvre inférieure avancée marquent l'animosité" (p.104).
- As in: "Nostre General n'a pas plutôt sceu ce que le Turc avoit dit, ce que le Turc avoit fait, qu'écumant de rage, il dit: Donnons, Messieurs, donnons, nostre cause est la cause de Dieu, massacrons tous les Mahometans; et passant du fer au feu, du sang à l'incendie, ne faisons de tous les habitans de Babylone que des victimes consumées."
- Reproche: "Le Reproche veut que le corps un peu courbé parcoure frequemment la Chaire, et que le front soit plissé, et que de temps en temps la teste soit branlante. Le corps un peu courbé et parcourant frequemment la Chaire marque l'ardeur qu'on a pour Dieu; le front plissé et le regard severe marque l'horreur qu'on a pour le peché" (p.106).

v. Tonal variation according to words and final letters.

Le and Pance que: "doit estre prononcé d'une voix forte, parce qu'il promet quelque chose de considerable, et que toute particule qui promet ce que je vien de dire, doit marquer par le ton l'importance de la promesse" (p.110).

Mais: "doit toujours emprunter le ton, qu'il doit recevoir, des matières qui le suivent" (p.115).

O: "comme le *ô* est appellatif, il doit estre prononcé d'une voix haute; et sur tout lors qu'il est précédé d'un *quoy*, parce que le *quoy*, ordinairement parlant, commence l'expression de quelque cas surprenant" (p.115).

Hé: "Il y a trois sortes de *hé*; il y a un *hé* d'étonnement...un *hé* de conviction, et un *hé* de confusion...Le *hé* d'étonnement ...doit estre prononcé d'une voix haute et traisnante, parce qu'il exprime une surprise qui provient d'un cas fort touchant...Le *hé* de conviction doit estre prononcé avec une voix comme railleuse au commencement, parce qu'elle suppose une negation ridicule; mais sur la fin il doit estre prononcé d'un ton mediocre et adoucy, parce qu'il est suivy d'une description lamentable...Le *hé* de confusion doit estre prononcé d'une voix haute, grave et hardie, parce qu'il exprime une ignorance inexcusable" (pp.121-2).

Ha: "Il y a trois sortes de *ha*; il y a un *ha* d'horreur...un *ha* admiratif...et un *ha* attendrissant...Le *ha* d'horreur demande un ton haut, et comme traisnant, parce qu'il exprime une surprise qui provient d'un cas horrible...le *ha* admiratif demande une voix purement éclatante, parce qu'il exprime une surprise qui provient d'un cas merveilleux...le *ha* attendrissant demande une voix triste et traisnante, et neantmoins un peu haussée, parce qu'il est excité par une horrible menace, et qu'il tend par la tendresse du ton à en détourner l'exécution" (pp.124-5).

La z de l'impératif: "qu'on pèze sur les dernières lettres" (p.126).

Les e doubles: "celles qui finissent par des e doubles comme *aimée*, *armée* etc....il faut pezer sur les doubles e, et quand un *le* suit immédiatement une e double, il faut que la prononciation de la double e soit finie avant que de prononcer ce *le*" (p.127).

-ons, -ens: "il faut pezer sur les *ons* et sur les *ens*, parce que les s finissantes et précédées d'un o ou d'une n, bruyent agreablement les oreilles...Ces lettres bruyantes prononcées d'un ton traissant donnent lieu à la langue de prononcer plus vigoreusement les mots suivans, parce qu'elles soulagent la voix" (pp.127-8).

La x: "les x finissantes exigent un ton succinct et éclatant, lors qu'elles n'expriment pas un étonnement, ou une surprise; mais quand elles expriment l'un ou l'autre. elles veulent...une voix traissante. parce que l'ame dans l'étonnement et dans la pluspart des surprises perd une partie de ses forces" (p.130).

-ment, -ait, -at: "il faut pezer sur les *-ment*, sur les *-ait*, et sur les *-at*, parce qu'à moins d'y pezer l'on ne frapperoit pas agreablement l'oreille, et qu'on ne feroit pas du *-ment*, du *-ait* et du *-at*, des repos d'haleines pour former plus fortement les mots suivans" (p.131).

APPENDIX IIAN ABSTRACT OF GRIMAREST'S ADVICE ON TONE AND GESTURE
AS CONTAINED IN HIS TRAITE DU RECITATIF, 1707i. Tonal variation according to subject (pp.52-4)

Une matière grave: la voix sublime

Une matière galante: la voix légère et gracieuse

Satire: de la vivacité

Une matière dogmatique: de la sagesse et de la netteté

Une action modeste: la voix douce et traînante

Une mystère: la voix humble mais grave et ferme ensemble

Le récit d'un combat: le ton éclatant et pressé

Magnificence: la voix grave pompeuse, élevée

Tranquillité, plaisirs: la voix adoucie et plus familière

ii. Tonal variation according to punctuation (pp.30-41)

Le point d'admiration: "le point d'admiration est celui qui avertit dans la lecture, qu'il faut admirer, s'étonner ou se plaindre"

Le point d'interrogation: "marque que l'on doit prononcer l'expression d'un ton supérieur ou élevé"

Le point interrompu: "suspend la déclamation"

Des mots entre parenthèses: "on doit mettre sa voix sur un ton plus bas ou plus haut que ce qui précède, ou ce qui suit selon le sens qu'elle renferme"

iii. Tonal variation according to passions (pp.81-93)

Amour: a) L'amour douce, qui donne de la joie: une voix flatteuse et tendre.

Example: Chimène: Rodrigue, qui l'eût cru ?

Rodrigue: Chimène, qui l'eût dit ?

Chimène: Que notre heur fût si proche,
et sitôt se perdit ?

Le Cid III, iv.

Amour: b) L'amour qui fait plaisir: une voix gaie.

Example:

Bérénice: Rassurons-nous, mon coeur, je puis encor lui plaire;
Je me comptais trop tôt au rang des malheureux:
Si Titus est jaloux, Titus est amoureux.

Bérénice II, v.

c) Amour quand on souffre: des tons pressants et plaintifs. Example:

Théramène: Le ciel, dit-il m'arrache une innocente vie.
Prends soin après ma mort de la triste Aricie.
Cher ami, si mon père un jour désabusé
Plaint le malheur d'un fils fausement accusé,
Pour apaiser mon sang et mon ombre plaintive,
Dis-lui qu'avec douceur il traite sa captive;
Qu'il lui rende...

Phèdre V, vi.

Haine: a) Haine sévère: la voix âpre. Example:

Hermione: Adieu. Tu peux partir. Je demeure en Epire:
Je renonce à la Grèce, à Sparte, à son empire,
A toute ma famille; et c'est assez pour moi,
Traître, qu'elle ait produit un monstre tel que toi.

Andromaque V, iii.

b) Haine rude: une voix grondante.

c) Haine impitoyable: la voix ferme et dure. Example:

Cléopâtre: Règne; de crime en crime, enfin te voilà roi.
Je t'ai défait d'un père, et d'un frère, et de moi:
Puisse le ciel tous deux vous prendre pour victimes,
Et laisser choir sur vous les peines de mes crimes!
Puissiez-vous ne trouver dedans votre union
Qu'horreur, que jalousie, et que confusion!
Et pour vous souhaiter tous les malheurs ensemble,
Puisse naître de vous un fils qui me ressemble!

Rodogune V, iv.

Désir: a) Désir violent: quand sa source est dans l'amour,
une voix tendre mais pressante. Example:

Bérénice: Phénice ne vient point! Moments trop rigoureux,
Que vous paraissiez lents à mes rapides vœux!
Je m'agite, je cours, languissante, abattue;
La force m'abandonne, et le repos me tue.
Phénice ne vient point.

Bérénice IV, i.

quand il est source de la résistance,
un ton de dépit et de colère. Example:

Cléopâtre: Je vous le dis encor, le trône est à ce prix;
Je puis en disposer comme de ma conquête;
Point d'aîné, point de roi, qu'en m'apportant sa tête;

Désir:

Et puisque mon seul choix vous y peut élever,
Pour jouir de mon crime il le faut achever.

Rodogune II, iii.

b) Désir modéré: une voix faible. Exemple:

Hermione: Du Troyen ou de moi faites-le décider;
Qu'il songe qui des deux il veut rendre ou garder;
Enfin, qu'il me renvoie, ou bien qu'il vous le livre.
Adieu. S'il y consent, je suis prête à vous suivre.

Andromaque II, ii.

c) Désir languissant: une voix douce et interrompue.

Exemple:

Phèdre: Dieux! que ne suis-je assise à l'ombre des forêts!
Quand pourrai-je, au travers d'une noble poussière,
Suivre de l'oeil un char fuyant dans la carrière?

Phèdre I, iii.

Fuite: une voix médiocrement rude. Exemple:

Antiochus: Non, je n'écoute rien; et dans la mort d'un frère
Je ne veux point juger entre vous et ma mère

Rodogune V, iv.

Joie: un ton de voix doux, plein et facile. Exemple:

Antiochus: Les plus doux de mes vœux enfin sont exaucés.
Tu viens de vaincre, amour; mais ce n'est pas assez:
Si tu veux triompher en cette conjoncture,
Après avoir vaincu, fais vaincre la nature

Rodogune IV, ii.

Tristesse: une voix faible, traînante, plaintive, plus ou moins fort selon le personnage.

Espérance/Confiance: une voix forte et même éclatante.

Désespoir: ton d'exclamation, tons aigus et précipités.

Audace: une voix impétueuse et hautaine. Exemple:

Mithridate: Ah! qu'est-ce que j'entends?
Perfides, ma vengeance a tardé trop longtemps!
Mais je ne vous crains point: malgré leur insolence,
Les mutins n'oseraient soutenir ma présence.
Je ne veux que les voir; je ne veux qu'à leurs yeux
Immoler de ma main deux fils audacieux.

Mithridate IV, vi.

Crainte: une voix faible et hésitante. Exemple:

Andromaque: Ah! seigneur! arrêtez! Que prétendez-vous faire?
Si vous livrez le fils, livrez-leur donc la mère!
Vos serments m'ont tantôt juré tant d'amitié!
Dieux! ne pourrai-je au moins toucher votre pitié?
Sans espoir de pardon m'avez-vous condamnée?

Andromaque III, vi.

Jalousie: une voix hardie. Exemple:

Phèdre: Ils s'aiment! Par quel charme ont-ils trompé mes yeux?
 Comment se sont-ils vus? depuis quand? dans quels lieux?
 Tu le savais: pourquoi me laissais-tu séduire?
 De leur furtive ardeur ne pouvais-tu m'instruire?
 Les a-t-on vus souvent se parler, se chercher?
 Dans le fond des forêts allaient-ils se cacher?
 Hélas! ils se voyaient avec pleine licence:
 Le ciel de leurs soupirs approuvait l'innocence
Phèdre IV, vi.

Indignation: une voix ferme, rude et un peu exclamative.

Compassion: a) au simple aspect de la misère: une voix triste
 mais pleine. Exemple:

Sévère: J'ai trop de pitié d'eux pour ne les pas défendre.
 Allons trouver Félix; commençons par son gendre;
 Et contentons ainsi, d'une seule action,
 Et Pauline, et ma gloire, et ma compassion.
Polyeucte IV, vi.

b) pour principe injuste: une voix forte. Exemple:
 Sévère: Père dénaturé, malheureux politique,
 Esclave ambitieux d'une peur chimérique;
 Polyeucte est donc mort! et par vos cruautés
 Vous pensez conserver vos tristes dignités!
Polyeucte V, vi.

c) suivie de tendresse: une voix douce et touchante.
 Exemple:
 Oenone: Quoi! vous ne perdrez point cette cruelle envie?
 Vous verrai-je toujours, renonçant à la vie,
 Faire de votre mort les funeste apprêts?
Phèdre I, iii.

Colère simple: une voix élevée. Exemple:

Cléopâtre: Vous ne répondez point! Allez, enfants ingrats,
 Pour qui je crus en vain conserver ces Etats:
 J'ai fait votre oncle roi, j'en ferai bien un autre;
 Et mon nom peut encore ici plus que le vôtre.
Rodogune II, iii.

Menace: une voix émue et médiocrement haute. Exemple:

Hermione: Va lui jurer la foi que tu m'avais jurée;
 Va profaner des dieux la majesté sacrée.
 Ces dieux, ces justes dieux n'auront pas oublié
 Que les mêmes serments avec moi t'ont lié:
 Porte aux pieds des autels ce coeur qui m'abandonne;
 Va, cours: mais crains encor d'y trouver Hermione.
Andromaque IV, v.

iv. Tonal variation according to the figures (pp.96-105)Interrogation:

a) Qui sert à nous éclaircir sans passion: un ton doux.

Example:

Oreste: Toi qui connais Pyrrhus, que penses-tu qu'il fasse?
 Dans sa cour, dans son coeur, dis-moi ce qui se passe.
 Mon Hermione encor le tient-elle asservi?
 Me rendra-t-il, Pylade, un bien qu'il m'a ravi?
Andromaque I, i

b) Suite d'une offense: un ton élevé, vif et fier. Example:

Agamemnon: Et qui vous a chargé du soin de ma famille?
 Ne pourrai-je, sans vous, disposer de ma fille?
 Ne suis-je plus son père? Etes-vous son époux?
Iphigénie IV, vi.

c) Remplie de la douleur: une voix tendre et plaintive.

d) Mêlée d'ostentation: un ton élevé, fier et méprisant.

Apostrophe: beaucoup de grandeur dans la voix.

Antithèse: Une voix ferme pour faire sentir davantage ces
 oppositions; en observant toujours le ton propre
 au sentiment qu'elles renferment.

Serment: Veut être prononcé d'un ton extraordinairement élevé.

Ironie: Une voix traînante et railleuse, quelquefois accompagnée
 d'un souris moqueur. Example:

Nicomède: Je ne puis voir sous eux les rois humiliés;
 Et, quel que soit ce fils que Rome vous renvoie,
 Seigneur, je lui rendrais son présent avec joie.
 S'il est si bien instruit en l'art de commander,
 C'est un rare trésor qu'elle devrait garder,
 Et conserver chez soi sa chère nourriture,
 Ou pour le consulat, ou pour le dictature.
Nicomède II, iii.

Exclamation: Faite par surprise et étonnement: un ton fort
 élevé mais proportionné à ce qui précède, et à
 ce qui suit, et à la situation de la personne
 qui est surprise. L'exclamation faite par
 admiration par exemple est moins poussée que par
 crainte, et l'exclamation par crainte est moins
 élevée que par peur subite. Example:

Nicomède: Vous m'enverrez à Rome! (le ton modéré et respectueux)
 Prusias: On t'y fera justice.

Va, va lui demander ta chère Laodice.

Nicomède: J'irai, j'irai, seigneur, vous le voulez ainsi;
 Et j'y serai plus roi que vous n'êtes ici. (irrité,
 le ton plus élevé) Nicomède IV, iv.

Epizeuxis: Le mot répété doit être prononcé plus fortement que les autres. Exemple:

Achille: Je n'y vais que pour vous, barbare que vous êtes;
Pour vous, à qui des Grecs moi seul je ne dois rien;
Vous, que j'ai fait nommer et leur chef et le mien;
Vous, que mon bras vengeait dans Lesbos enflammée,
Avant que vous eussiez assemblé votre armée.

Iphigénie IV, vi.

Gradation: Qui de degré en degré ajoute à la bonté, ou à la malice d'une action, demande d'abord une voix hardie et pleine; et qu'elle monte ensuite de plus en plus forte jusqu'au dernier membre de cette figure. Exemple:

Stratonice: Ce n'est plus cet époux si charmant à vos yeux;
C'est l'ennemi commun de l'Etat et des dieux,
Un méchant, un infâme, un rebelle, un perfide,
Un traître, un scélérat, un lâche, un parricide,
Une peste exécration à tous les gens de bien,
Un sacrilège impie, en un mot, un chrétien.

Polyeucte III, ii

v. Tonal variation according to character (pp.106-110)

Les personnages élevés: une voix sublime, et pompeuse.

Les personnages communs: une voix ordinaire, et naturelle.

Le Vieillard: une voix faible et tremblante.

Le Fat, l'Important, le Petit-Maitre: de la hauteur, un peu d'élévation dans la prononciation et une voix un peu traînante.

Le Valet: de l'inégalité dans les tons, dans la quantité.

Le Gascon: une prononciation vive, précipitée et une voix claire.

Le Normand, le Flamand, le Suisse: lente et inégale sur de certaines syllabes où ils appuient plus longtemps que les autres.

Le Paysan: de la pesanteur et du dérangement à sa prononciation.

L'Ivrogne: une voix claire, entrecoupée, et inégale dans ses tons, et mêlée de hoquets.

La Précieuse: une voix traînante, à demi pleine, et mal prononcée.

L'Extravagante ou l'Emportée: une voix haute, aiguë, et précipitée, de manière que l'on n'entende jamais les dernières syllabes.

Remarks on gesture:

"Le geste doit accompagner la voix pour donner plus de vraisemblance, et de vivacité à l'action." (p.113)

"En général...on doit allier le geste avec le ton de la voix ... la délicatesse du mouvement des bras est presque aussi difficile à acquérir que la belle inflexion de voix." (p.114)

"Chaque passion a son visage":

Joie: le visage ouvert

Péril: le visage agité

Crainte: le visage agité

Tristesse: le visage abattu, des larmes

Colère: le visage rude et enflammé

Mépris: des regards dédaigneux

[illegible]

A: THE PASSIONS

APPENDIX III

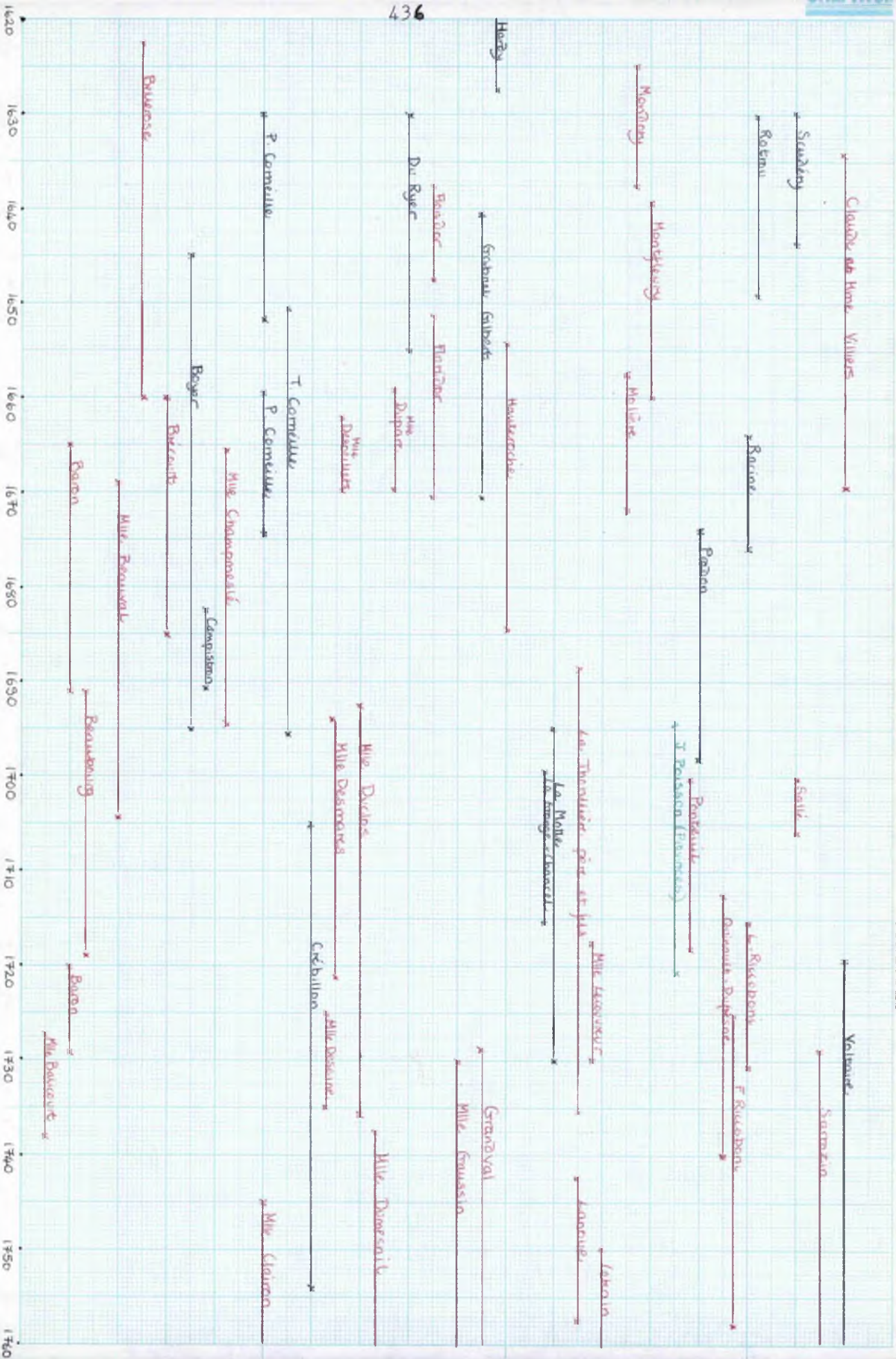
B: THE FIGURES

thèse	avec un certain ton et le second avec un autre, et ainsi de suite, plus haut que l'autre.	prononçant le premier d'un certain ton et le second d'un autre.	certains ton et le second de l'autre.	prononcé le premier d'un ton et le second d'un autre.	avec un ton plus élevé, et plus bas que l'autre.	avec un ton plus élevé, et plus bas que l'autre.	avec un ton plus élevé, et plus bas que l'autre.	avec un ton plus élevé, et plus bas que l'autre.
catopie / dramatique	High & low variations according to person or thing observed. Exclamation - accent plus haut et plus bas que le reste.	il peut élever la voix plus qu'il ne la baisse.	voix élevée	voix un peu plus élevée que de coutume.	accent plus élevé, et plus bas que l'autre.	Bien sûr, de grand. Exclamation - ton élevé, selon la personne et les circonstances.	vous, cependant, en postulat. Exclamation - ton élevé, selon la personne et les circonstances.	vous, cependant, en postulat. Exclamation - ton élevé, selon la personne et les circonstances.
moné	voix vive, présente, insinuante, gracieuse.	la prononciation de la geste, pronomp, vif et pressant.	Ton de voix fort élevé.	Voix vive, pressante et élevée.				
ation	l'élévation de la voix par les mêmes degrés que l'émotion.	il peut à chaque membre de la période élever sa voix d'un degré.	A chaque membre de la période il peut élever la voix d'un degré.	D'abord une voix haute, ensuite une voix exclamation, et enfin une voix de plus en plus forte.	élévation de la voix doit croître par les mêmes degrés.	D'abord une voix haute, ensuite une voix exclamation, et enfin une voix de plus en plus forte.	voies accolées et déprimées. Induction requise.	
urrogation	A l'un ou l'autre, bien que la main en la conversation... la tête un peu en avant du corps.							
opopie	il faut changer de voix, afin qu'il paraisse que ce n'est pas vous qui parlez, mais la personne que vous imitez.	Changer de voix et tempérer au caractère de ceux qui en font parler.	Divers haussures de voix selon les personnes qui parlent... qui en font parler.	Changer la voix et la varier selon la diversité des personnes et la nature des passions.				
position	Anaploie - 2e fois plus haut et plus bas. Anaploie - prononciation de mot répété, toujours d'une même façon. Epizmais - cas anaploie.	à la fin on abaisse la voix d'un ton.	sur le fin il peut abaisser et élever la voix.	notre répétés doit être prononcés plus haut que les autres.				
érence	il faut abaisser la voix d'un ton et prononcer d'un plus haut les mots précédents.							
ggestion	Un ton pour l'interrogation et un autre pour la réponse.	à chaque réponse à chaque question, il faut changer d'un ton de la voix.	un ton pour l'interrogation et un autre pour la réponse.	un ton à chaque interrogation et un autre à chaque réponse... ordinaire.				

APPENDIX III

B: THE FIGURES

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APPENDIX V: GLOSSARY OF KEY-TERMS

ACTION: "se dit...d'un discours public, comme est un Sermon, une Harangue, un Plaidoyer...il se prend aussi pour cette partie extérieure de l'Orateur, qui comprend le mouvement du corps et des gestes" (*Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1694).

DECLAMER: "déclamer: haranguer par voie d'exercice" (Monet, *Abregé du Parallele des Langues française et latine*, 1635).

"déclamer: reciter en public, ou sur un theatre quelque discours, quelques vers en Comedien ou en Orateur" (Furetière, 1690).

"déclamer: prononcer, reciter à haute voix et d'un ton d'Orateur" (*Dict. de l'Acad.*, 1694).

"la déclamation, dans le sens qu'on la prend aujourd'hui, est le récit ampoulé, que l'on fait d'un discours oratoire, pour satisfaire l'esprit, et pour toucher le coeur des spectateurs" (Grimarest, *Traité du récitatif*, 1707).

"L'Art de réciter, ou la Déclamation" (Poisson, 1709).

"L'Art de la Déclamation consiste à joindre à une prononciation variée l'expression du geste, pour mieux faire sentir toute la force de la pensée... je renferme sous l'Art de la Déclamation tout ce qui est du ressort de la langue qui articule et qui parle...il n'y a pas de discours familier, qui, dans les tons qui lui sont convenables, en soit exempt" (L. Riccoboni, *Pensées sur la Déclamation*, 1738).

"c'est la véhémence et la monotonie jointes ensemble, qui forment la déclamation. Commencer bas, prononcer avec une lenteur affectée, traîner les sons en langueur sans les varier, en élever un tout-à-coup aux demi-pauses du sens, et retourner promptement au ton d'où l'on est parti; dans les

momens de passion, s'exprimer avec une force surabondante, sans jamais quitter la même espece de modulation, voilà comme on déclame" (F. Riccoboni, *L'Art du Théâtre*, 1750).

GESTE: "action de celui qui parle: le maniement, et mouvement de son corps, et des membres, hic Gestus, haec Actio" (Monet, *Abregé*, 1635).

"mouvement du corps qui se fait non pas pour changer de lieu, mais pour signifier quelque chose" (Furetière, 1690).

"action, mouvement du corps, des bras, de la teste, de la main: Et se dit principalement des actions lorsqu'elles accompagnent le discours" (*Dict. de l'Académie*, 1694).

PANTOMIME: "il ne seroit pas convenable à la gravité d'un Orateur de faire comme ces anciens Pantomime des Grecs et des Romains qui sans parler signifioient toutes choses par leurs gestes" (Le Faucheur, *Traité de l'action*, 1657, p.224).

"Bouffon qui paroissoit sur le theatre des Anciens, et qui par des gestes et par des signes representoit toutes sortes d'actions" (Furetière, 1690).

"les pantomimes étoient capables de faire mériter le nom d'homme de lettres" (Dubos, *Réflexions critiques*, 1719).

"Nous avons perdu un art, dont les anciens connoissaient bien les ressources. Le pantomime jouait autrefois toutes les conditions" (Diderot, *Entretiens sur le fils naturel*, 1757).

PRONONCIATION: "une prononciation accompagnée de bons gestes *pronuntiatio*" (Nicot, *Grand dictionnaire françois-latin*, Paris, 1605).

"articulation, expression des lettres, des syllabes, des mots...il signifie aussi, la manière de réciter" (*Dict. de l'Académie*, 1694).

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The illustrations contained in this volume are intended
to supplement the statistical information in the charts. They
are contemporary graphic summaries of the statistical information
and will serve to emphasize the statistical facts and figures
and to show the changes in the statistical data from year to year.
The statistical data are presented in the form of charts and
graphs and are intended to be used as a reference for the
statistical data.

AIEN APISTEYEN



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The illustrations contained in this folder are intended to complement the material presented in the thesis. They are contemporary graphic materials giving visual information and evidence that complements the evidence from written sources. They therefore expand upon information provided in the text, offering visual evidence of the gestures and body management that were suggested by rhetoricians themselves. Furthermore they offer valuable evidence of artistic eye-witnesses as to the style and range of gesture used on the tragic French stage of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Even though the evidence may on occasion enlarge on the stage reality and offer invented scenes, the evidence on gestures is still valuable provided it be realized that graphic illustrations may telescope the acting sequence into one moment and suggest actions to be simultaneous when in fact they may have been successive.

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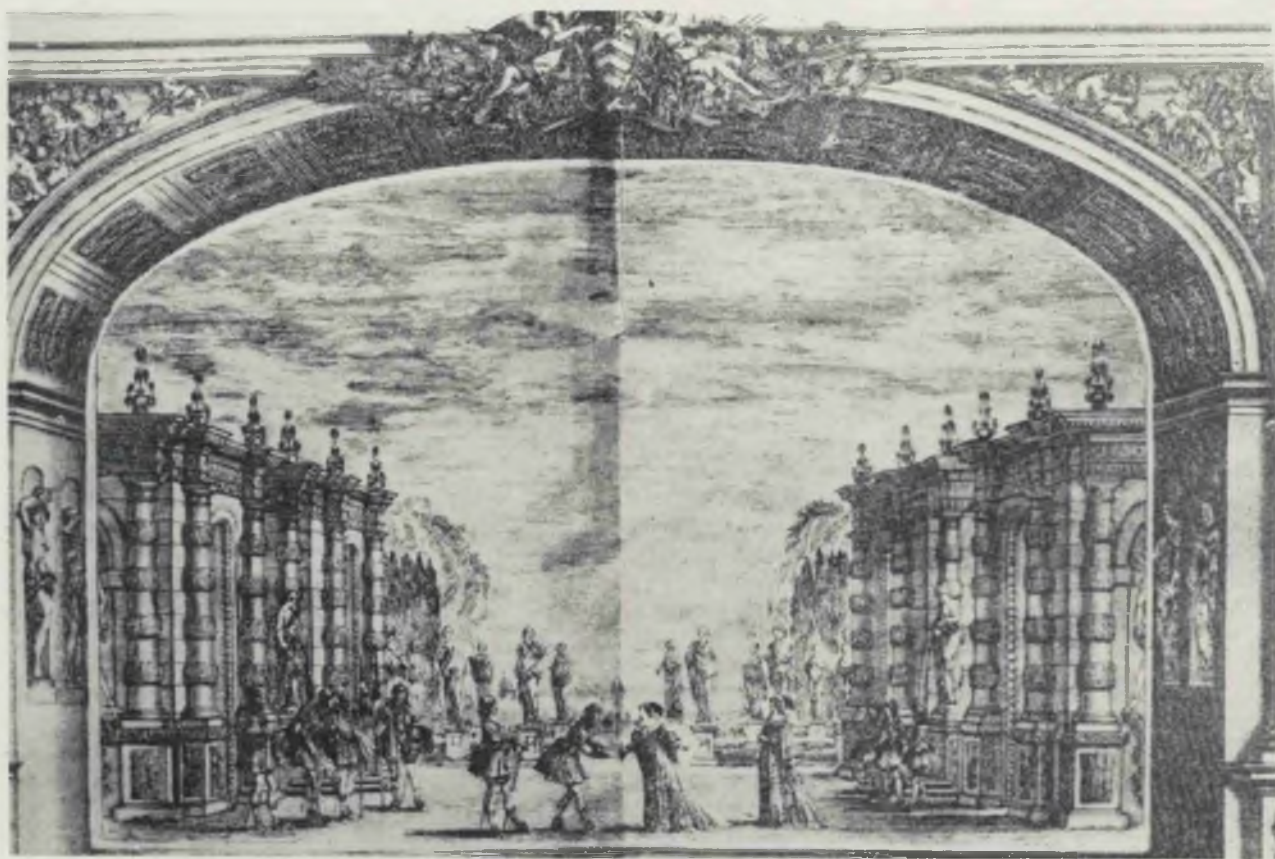






L'IMPROMPTU de VERSAILLES.







Première Journée.

Alceste, Tragedie en musique, ornée d'entrées de Ballet, représentée à Terceilles dans la salle de musique des Chateaux de la Cour depuis le haut jusqu'en bas d'un étage de la couronne.

Actus primus.

Alceste Tragedia, perpetua cantu et rursus, sicut in Terceillis, in aula musicae Chateaurum de la Cour, ab alto usque ad inferius unius gradus de la couronne.













TITE ET BERENICE.



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Figno.



22



21

Exclamationem aptat



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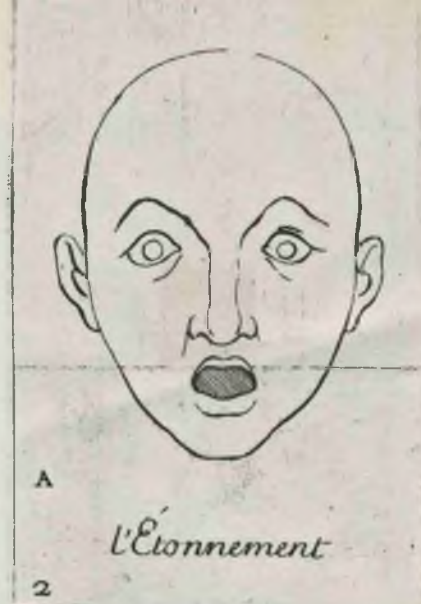
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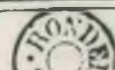


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MARIUS .





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A. L.

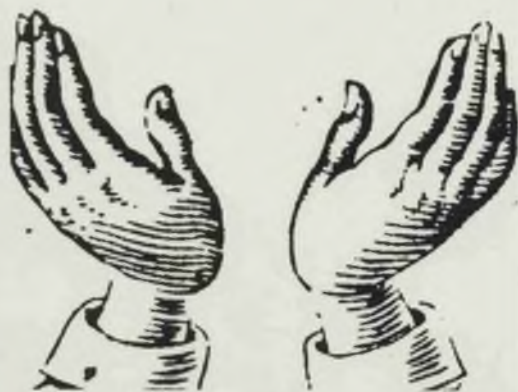
l'admiration

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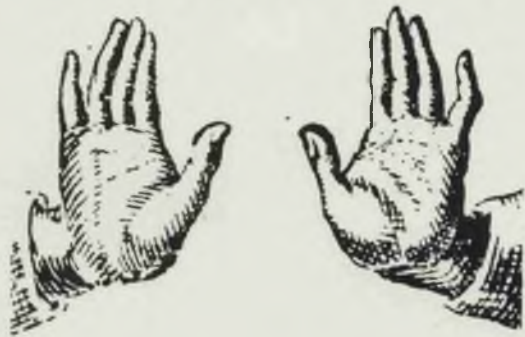
D Admiror.



F Admiratur.



W Exccratione repellit.



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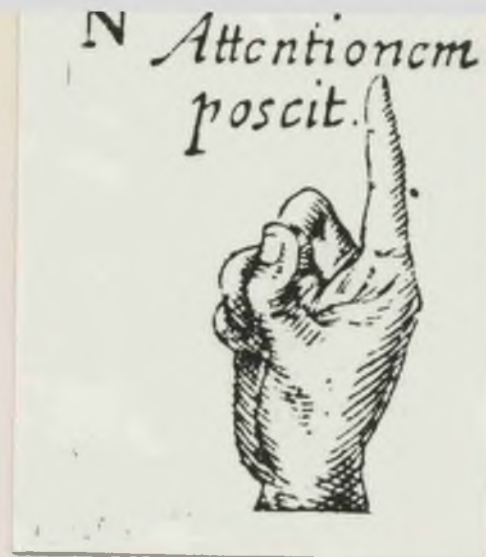
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Kristi animi signo



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Tristesse et abattement de coeur

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Dolabit.



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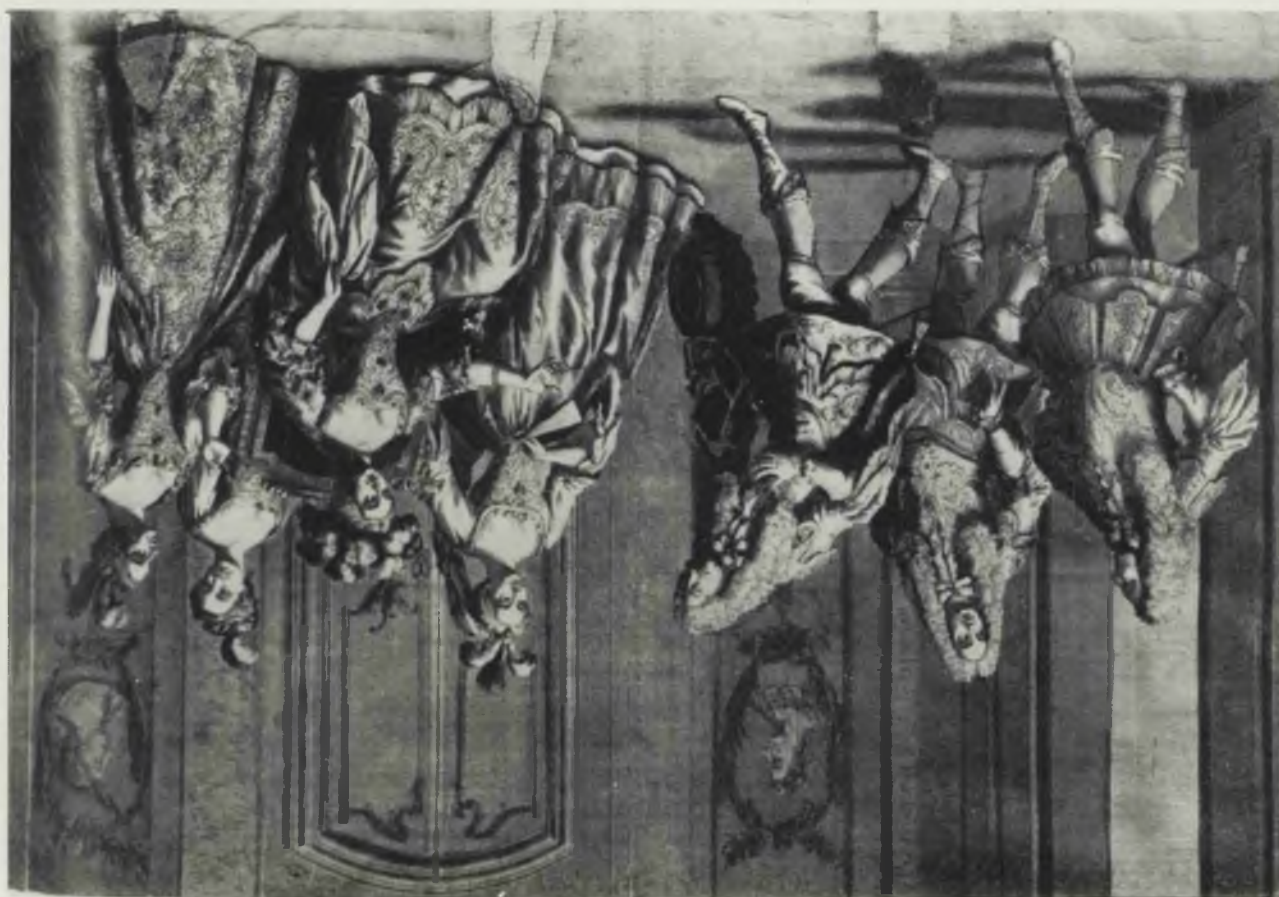
LE CID.



Electra









KEY TO PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1 General movement of arms and hands according to the advice of Rollin and François Riccoboni.
- 2 Engraving by J. Harrewyn to *L'Impromptu de Versailles* in *Oeuvres de Molière*, Bruxelles, 1694.
- 3 Engraving to La Motte's *Les Originaux* in Gherardi, *Le Théâtre Italien*, IV, Paris, 1700.
- 4 Engraving by Stephano della Bella of a scene from *Mirame* at the Palais Cardinal, 1641.
- 5 Engraving by Le Pautre of a scene from *Alceste* performed at Versailles in 1674.
- 6 Reverse of a seventeenth-century fan showing a scene from an opera by Charpentier.
- 7 Engraving to Regnard and Dufresny's *Les Momies d'Égypte* in *Le Théâtre Italien*, VI.
- 8 Engraving to *Ulysse et Circé* in *Le Théâtre Italien*, III.
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- 10 Frontispiece by L. Weyen to Le Boulanger de Chalussay's *Élomine hypocondre*, Paris, 1670.
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- 12 Engraving to Corneille's *Tite et Bérénice* in P. Corneille, *Oeuvres*, Amsterdam, 1701.
- 13 Foesch-Whirsker drawing of Bellecour as Philoctète in Voltaire's *Oedipe* reproduced in A. Arnault, *Souvenirs et regrets du vieil amateur dramatique*, Paris, 1829.
- 14 Foesch-Whirsker drawing of Brizard and Lekain in a scene from Voltaire's *Mahomet*.

- 15 F. Chauveau engraving to Racine's *Andromaque* (1676).
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- 20 Bulwer, *Chironomia*, London, 1644, p.155.
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- 22 Foesch-Whirsker drawing of Vanhove as Auguste (*Cinna*).
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- 24 Bulwer, p.65.
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- 26 Le Brun, *Conférence sur l'expression*, 1698, "l'Etonnement".
- 27 Corneille engraving to Racine's *Athalie*, 1691.
- 28 Engraving to La Fosse's tragedy *Marius* in *Théâtre*, Amsterdam, 1703.
- 29 Chauveau engraving to Corneille's *Andromède*, Petit Bourbon, 1650.
- 30 Bulwer, p.189.
- 31 Bulwer, p.65.
- 32 Le Brun, *Conférence*.

- 33 Reconstruction of the gesture described by Bary and called "l'Horrible".
- 34 Bulwer, p.65.
- 35 Foesch-Whirsker drawing of Mlle Dumesnil as Arthalie.
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- 40 Bulwer, p.95.
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- 51 Engraving to *La Comédie d'Esopé, Le Théâtre Italien*, V.
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- 55 Foesch-Whiraker drawing of Mlle Clairon, Mme Grandval and Brizard in a scene from *Tancrède*.
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- 60 Figure 1 from Lang's *Dissertatio de actione scenica*.
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- 62 Frontispiece to Bulwer's *Chironomia*, London, 1644.